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“I was a woman who was not a woman”

Power and Gendered Speech in *Scarpetta* and *the Scarpetta Factor*

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**ABSTRACT**

Tässä tutkielmassa tarkasteltiin sukupuolten kielenkäytön (*gendered speech*) ja valta-asemien suhdetta toisiinsa. Teoriapohjana oli Jennifer Coatesin tutkimustulokset sukupuolten opituista kielenkäyttötyyleistä. Sukupuolet oppivat eri säännöt, miten heidän tulisi kieltä käyttää. Nämä säännöt perustuvat yhteiskunnan vaatimuksiin siitä, mikä on "sopivaa" kullekin sukupuolelle. Miesten kielenkäyttö perustuu arvojärjestykseen ja kilpailuun (*competitive speech style*), kun taas naisten kielenkäyttö perustuu tasa-arvoisuuteen ja yhteistyöhön (*co-operative speech style*). Miesten oppima kilpaileva tyyli nähdään tehokkaampana tilanteissa, jotka perustuvat hierarkiaan, kun taas naisten oppima yhteistyöhön pyrkivä tyyli voidaan nähdä tehokkaampana tasa-arvoisissa tilanteissa. Sukupuolet voivat kuitenkin poiketa opituista yhteiskunnan säännöistä, jolloin miehet voivat ajoittain omaksua naisten tasa-arvoisen puhetyylin, ja naiset voivat ajoittain omaksua miesten kilpailevan puhetyylin. Tästä ilmiöstä käytetään termiä *gender performance*. Materiaalina tutkimuksessa oli kaksi Patricia D. Cornwellin luomaa fiktiivistä naishahmoa, joilla on korkea asema valtahierarkiassa. Heidän puhetyyliä tarkasteltiin romaaneissa *Scarpetta* (2008) ja *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009). Koska rikoskirjallisuus perustuu autenttisuuteen, voitiin olettaa, että dialogit jäljittelevät aitoa kielenkäyttöä. Naishahmojen tuli käyttää kilpailevaa puhetyyliä tilanteissa, joissa he pitävät valta-asemaa. Toisaalta heidän tuli käyttää yhteistyöhön perustuvaa puhetyyliä tilanteissa, joissa he ovat tasa-arvoisia muiden puhujien kanssa. Tarkastelun kohteina olivat kysymykset, käskyt sekä keskeytykset, joiden käyttötavat jaoteltiin kilpailevan sekä tasa-arvoisen tyylin mukaan. Tältä pohjalta oli mahdollista nähdä kumpaa tyyliä naishahmot käyttivät eri valtatilanteissa.

Tulokset osoittivat, että valta-asemalla oli vaikutus naisten puhetyyliin. He käyttivät enemmän kilpailevaa tyyliä tilanteissa, joissa he pitivät valta-asemaa, kun taas tasa-arvoisissa tilanteissa he käyttivät enemmän yhteistyöhön perustuvaa tyyliä. Muutama poikkeus ilmeni kysymysten sekä käskyjen käytössä, jolloin tasa-arvoista tyyliä käytettiin eriarvoisessa valtatilanteessa johdattelemaan keskustelua. Näin ollen naishahmot vaihtelivat puhetyyliään ja täten myös uhmasivat yhteiskunnan määrittelemiä sukupuoliodotuksia oikeanlaisesta puhetyylistä.

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**KEYWORDS:** Communicative competence, gender, speech style, power, crime fiction



## 1 INTRODUCTION

What are little boys made of? “Snips and snails, and puppy dogs tails. That's what little boys are made of!” What are little girls made of? “Sugar and spice and all things nice. That's what little girls are made of!” (Alchin, L.K. Rhymes.org.uk 2009)

This popular nursery rhyme has been taught to children since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is a funny rhyme, but it also makes a claim of what little boys and little girls are supposed to be like. Boys are made of animate things that are found outside, whereas girls are made of inanimate things found in the kitchen. The same arrangement has applied to life in general; men have had better access to the public sphere, while women have for long been the ones who stayed at home and took care of the domestic life and children (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 38–40). Nowadays, women also have better access to the public sphere, and more women hold positions in fields which have traditionally been dominated by men. Nevertheless, this nursery rhyme is still widely told to children in this same form. Why can we not change the places of the girls and the boys? Why cannot girls be made of snails and puppy dog tails and boys of sugar and spices? Maybe because the new positioning would not meet the common gender expectations of our western society, and because traditional thinking tends to change very slowly.

There have always been comparisons between men and women: what kind of behavior is proper for each sex, which tasks they can perform best and which ones they can not perform well, which clothes and which color they can wear, what kind of language they can use, and how much power they can hold. Folk linguists were the ones who first started paying attention to the differences between women and men's speech. From the 1920's to the 1940's, some anthropologists published their observations about women and men's language, but it was not until the 1970's that the actual growth of this study area began (Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert & Leap 2000: 216). Everyone had their own interpretations, and the differences were explained resulting from, for example, gender norms, gender expectations, power differences and different interpretations of linguistic features.

In many western societies, women still tend to occupy a subordinate position, especially in occupational power relationships. For example, men tend to dominate the upper echelons of governments and business companies, whereas women tend to work in the service sector or do unpaid housework and take care of the children. Moreover, women tend to earn less than men do even when holding the same occupational status. The occupations that are dominated by women also tend to be economically less valued than those dominated by men. (Hewlett cited in Kiesling 1997: 65.) An explanation to why men tend to succeed better in working life could be their competitive way to represent themselves through language in certain situations. This is supported by a study made in Japan. More Japanese women have transferred from caretakers at home into actual paid workers to work places (Okamoto 1995: 298-317). This change has made it possible, and even forced, Japanese women to use different speech strategies. The change has already been seen at school: “[...] girls are aware of the disadvantage of female speech in school situations where they are expected to compete with the boys for good grades and choose to ignore traditions openly.” (Reynolds quoted in Okamoto 1995: 314). The study illustrated that young Japanese women started to act against the traditional norm of women’s language characterized by features such as politeness, formality, empathy, soft-spokenness, indirectness and nonassertiveness, that is, features regarded as signs of the lack of power. The study suggests that men’s competitive style to use language is linked with higher status and power, and thus being powerful language (see O’barr & Atkins in Swann 1989: 124–125).

Language is one of the best means for people to express themselves and use power. It is a way of ‘doing’ gender (Coates 2004: 126). By changing the speech style, people can manipulate the image they want to give to others. Factors such as the situation, the hierarchy, the people present, and the outcome one wishes to achieve all play a part in the formation of the image. Because the men’s competitive style tends to be more powerful in hierarchical situations than the co-operative style of women, it is possible for women to change their style into the more competitive one. This change of style contradicts the gender norms in that the women perform alternative femininity; they are women with masculine attributes (Butler 1999: 32). Since it is possible to change the speech style, women can use the competitive style that has traditionally been associated

with men, and men can use the co-operative style that has traditionally been associated with women. Therefore, in what follows, the different speech styles will simply be referred to as the competitive and the co-operative speech styles.

This study aims at exploring the representation of gendered speech styles in fiction. It focuses on how two powerful women, Kay Scarpetta and Jaime Berger, from the crime novels *Scarpetta* (2008) and *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009) use language in situations where power is divided either equally or unequally. Crime fiction is traditionally set in hierarchical work environments, and there are relations of unequal power among the police, the juridical system and between the police and the criminals. Crime fiction also aims at authenticity of detail, as shown by the Acknowledgements where the authors thank the experts for advice in details. Also, the language in dialogues has a great part in the formation of the image of authenticity. Furthermore, sociolinguistic studies have identified differences in speech styles where power is (un)equally divided. The hypothesis of this present study is that crime fiction aims at authenticity in the dialogues, in particular in the choice between the competitive and the co-operative speech styles. Since the competitive speech style is considered more effective in maintaining power, it is expected that the women use it in situations where the power relationship is unequal. In situations of equal power relations, it is expected that the co-operative speech style is used because the importance of positive and negative politeness increases and the need to control decreases. The characters, therefore, should change their style according to the power relations. By changing the styles, the women also change their gender performance.

The primary material of this thesis consists of dialogues between fictional characters and the representation of their speech is compared with the findings from West & Zimmerman, O'barr & Atkins and Jennifer Coates. Even though, the characters are realistic and the dialogues imitate real conversation patterns, the results of this thesis cannot be held as empirical evidence of the validity of the findings from sociolinguistic studies. Although, the dialogues consist of different styles and jargons, they are written by the same author. In this sense, the dialogues are, in fact, Patricia Cornwell's monologues. In addition, the dialogues are always, to some extent, artificial, and they



lack, for example, minimal responses and hesitations that a real conversation would most likely contain. Nevertheless, since staged authenticity is important in creating a realistic atmosphere in crime fiction, Cornwell maintains many features of authentic speech, which increases the accuracy and authenticity of the characters. Consultations with different experts, such as Lieutenant-Commander Detective Squad Mark Torre (commanding officer, bomb squad, NYPD) and Assistant District Attorney Lisa Friel, chief of the Sex Crimes Unit, New York County district attorney's office (Cornwell 2009: 493–494), further increase the authenticity of the story and the characters.

The material and method for this study will be presented next. The last section of Chapter 1 introduces the crime fiction writer Patricia Cornwell and discusses the relationship between authentic documentary and representational (fictional) image of speech styles. Chapter 2 introduces the concepts of gender and gender performance, and Chapter 3 discusses gendered speech and power. In Chapter 4, the speech styles of the women characters in unequal and equal situations are analyzed. Lastly, in Chapter 5, the findings and conclusions are presented as well as ideas for further study.

## 1.1 Material

The primary material of the present study consisted of two novels, *Scarpetta* (2008) and *The Scarpetta Factor* (2009), by Patricia Cornwell. Two woman characters, Dr. Kay Scarpetta and DA (District Attorney) Jaime Berger, were chosen for the study of the representations of gendered speech styles because they both hold powerful positions in male dominant fields, and secondly, because they both perform their gender in their language, appearance and/or actions but do this in slightly different ways. Scarpetta and Berger have to eliminate practically all emotionality from their behavior and maintain formality in order to be credible as “the most famous female forensic pathologist in the country [...] and the most famous female prosecutor.” (Cornwell 2000: 94). These two women, then, have to adopt traditional competitive features rather than the co-operative ones in order to gain control in work situations and to maintain their status of power. The features that are associated with hegemonic femininity and the co-operative style

include, among others, emotionality and irrationality (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 35), which are features that are not suitable for prosecutors and medical examiners. Moreover, the speakers of the competitive speech style have learned to use language in a way that it sets a safe distance from the felt experience (Seidler quoted in Coates 2004: 141). Medical examiners and prosecutors have to keep their actual emotions behind the professional mask.

*Scarpetta* (2008) and *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009) are the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> books in the Kay Scarpetta series. *Scarpetta* (2008) takes place in New York where the NYPD has requested Scarpetta to examine an injured man, Oscar Bane, who is held in the psychiatric prison ward of Bellevue hospital. He is suspected of the murder of his girlfriend. As the investigation goes further, someone is disseminating personal information, both correct and false, about Scarpetta in the Internet. Soon she realizes that there is a deeper connection between her and the murder victim, which eventually puts her life in jeopardy. In *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009), a young woman is missing and another one is found dead wearing a strange watch on her wrist. It soon becomes obvious that the cases and several others from the past have a common denominator. As the investigation goes further, Scarpetta receives a parcel bomb. The evidence suggests that the killer and the sender of the bomb is someone she knows from the past, thus making the motives of the killer personal. Both novels introduce the same main characters working with the cases: Kay Scarpetta, Jaime Berger, Benton Wesley, Pete Marino and Lucy Farinelli.

Kay Scarpetta is the protagonist of the two novels as well as the entire Scarpetta series. She is a middle-aged, highly educated medical examiner who has held several powerful positions. Her colleague, detective Pete Marino says to himself: “Back then, for a woman to be the chief of a statewide medical examiner’s system as formidable as Virginia’s was unheard of, and Scarpetta had been the first female medical examiner Marino had ever met, maybe even ever seen.” (Cornwell 2009: 355). This thought refers well to the unique position of Scarpetta at the beginning of her career. In *Scarpetta* (2008) and *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009), she is the senior forensic analyst for CNN (Cable News Network) and a pro bono worker for New York City's Office of the Chief

Medical Examiner. She has power because of her occupation, social prestige, special knowledge, and in some situations, because of her age. Her persona is a combination of femininity and masculinity and she describes herself by saying “I was a woman who was not a woman. I was the body and the sensibilities of a woman with the power and drive of a man.” (Cornwell 1994: 341). The masculine side unfolds in her appearance as well. She is a strong featured woman who does not use much make-up and wears simplified but quality pantsuits of neutral colors. She seldom loses her temper and behaves calmly and in a neutral way without showing strong emotions outside. For example, in a situation where a reporter is asking her inappropriate questions about an open crime case on live TV, her behavior seems calm when actually she is angry: “The camera on Scarpetta, absently touching her earpiece as she listened, then returning her hands to the table, folding them placidly. A gesture you'd have to know her as well as Benton [her husband] did to recognize. She was working hard to control herself.” (Cornwell 2009: 164). When she has some spare time, she likes to express her feminine side. She loves to cook, garden and play tennis. (Cornwell 2008, 2009.)

Jaime Berger is a highly educated, middle-aged prosecutor. She is the head of the New York County DA's Sex Crimes Unit, and has power for the same reasons as Scarpetta does: because of her occupation, social prestige, special knowledge and age. In her persona, feminine and masculine features are mixed. In contrast to Scarpetta's pantsuits, Berger dresses in a very feminine way. She wears close-fitting skirts and high heels. Her behavior, however, is more similar to what is associated with masculinity. She is straightforward, calm and speaks with a low voice, just like Scarpetta does. Her straightforward and arrogant behavior is expressed symbolically in an example where she leaves an appointment with Benton Wesley [a forensic psychologist and Scarpetta's husband]: “Benton stood on the sidewalk in the cold and watched Jaime Berger's yellow taxi speed away, cutting off two other cars to a cacophony of angry honks.” (Cornwell 2008: 120). She is a representation of a woman who is linguistically in “a Catch 22 situation” (Coates 2004: 201) in that she has adopted the adversarial style that is more commonly used by people with high status in the public sphere but which is in contrast with femininity and perceived as aggressive and confrontational. The situation has earned her a moniker “superbitch” (Cornwell 2008: 114). She seems emotionless

with only one goal: to get criminals behind bars, which is also a part of the reason why she takes her job so seriously. She has the power to change people's lives if she accuses them of some crime. She is a workaholic, which causes problems in her relationships. Very few people know anything about her private life, and only the closest people in her life have seen her vulnerable feminine side. (Cornwell 2008, 2009.)

Benton Wesley is a middle-aged, former FBI profiler who currently works as a forensic psychologist at Kirby Forensic Psychiatric Center and Bellevue Psychiatric Hospital. He has worked with Scarpetta and Berger on several cases. They are equals because of their similar occupational status. In addition, in *Scarpetta* (2008), he got married with Scarpetta, thus, they are equals intimately as well. Wesley has power because of occupational status, prestige, special knowledge and age. His prestige is referred to along these lines: "When people were arguing and distracted and their agendas were breaking the surface [...], if Benton announced he was going to stop listening, everybody stopped talking." (Cornwell 2009: 408). He performs hegemonic masculinity in his appearance and actions. He always wears a suit of a dark color at work. He is tall and has gray hair. He has learned to keep his face blank almost at all times, and it is hard for anyone to know what he is thinking; he does not show his emotions. He curses occasionally and speaks with a calm and low voice. He is the elegant opposite of detective Pete Marino who performs his hegemonic masculinity in a slightly different way. (Cornwell 2008, 2009.)

Pete Marino is a middle-aged detective who currently works for Jaime Berger. He held the rank of a Captain in the homicide division of Richmond police department and has worked with Scarpetta for several years. He is appreciated because of his expertise in the job, and has power because of occupational status, age, special knowledge and prestige. He is an equal with Scarpetta, but with Jaime Berger, he is her subordinate. He performs hegemonic masculinity in his appearance and actions. He is no longer overweight but still a balding husky man. He usually wears jeans, t-shirts and a Harley-Davidson leather jacket. He does not show his emotions, often gives racist comments, curses continuously and uses slang words. He has played a big part in the upbringing of Lucy Farinelli (Scarpetta's niece) who visited and lived with Scarpetta quite often in the

past. They have also worked together for several years and he taught her how to shoot. Due to this, Lucy Farinelli has similar characteristics with Marino. (Cornwell 2008, 2009.)

Lucy Farinelli is a tomboy in her thirties with a high IQ. Scarpetta is her aunt but who appears as a mother figure for her. In *Scarpetta* (2008), Farinelli starts a relationship with Jaime Berger. She is also a work colleague with both women, therefore, in working situations, she is an equal with both women. In more intimate situations, however, she is a subordinate because of her age. Individually, she holds power because of special knowledge, occupational status, and prestige: she is the best in the field of forensic computer investigation. She has held several positions in law enforcement. She has been a trainee in the Pentagon, worked for the FBI (the Federal Bureau of Investigation) and for the ATF (the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms). She made a fortune by building search engines and inventing computer programs for different police agencies. Currently, she is a private enterpriser who owns her own forensic computer investigation firm and she helps the NY prosecutor and the police in crime investigations. She performs subversive femininity in her appearance and actions. She emphasizes her strength and fitness by her clothing, such as tight t-shirts, jeans, cargo pants, leather jackets and boots. She is an aggressive introvert who has the need to overpower and impress others. She sometimes uses illegal ways to get the necessary information for criminal charges. Her continuous cursing also contradicts the stereotypical image of a woman. (Cornwell 2008, 2009.)

The novels, *Scarpetta* and *the Scarpetta Factor*, were chosen because they are the most recent novels of Kay Scarpetta series published in 2008 and 2009. The majority of the text in the novels consists of dialogue between different characters of different status, sex, expertise and occupation. They thus provide interesting material for the study of the effect of power relations on speech style. For the analysis, a total of 32 dialogues were randomly chosen according to the power relationship of the speakers that is, the relationship was clearly either equal or unequal. 16 dialogues were studied from the perspective of Kay Scarpetta and 16 dialogues from the perspective of Jaime Berger. Of the 16 Kay Scarpetta dialogues in eight she had the most power and in the other eight

she had an equal amount of power with the other speaker/s. This same division was made to the dialogues of Jaime Berger in that in eight dialogues, she had the most power and in the other eight, she had an equal amount of power with the other speaker/s.

The division of power was decided by considering different aspects in each situation. Occupational status was not necessarily enough to grant power in a situation, but factors such as the age, special knowledge, sex and social prestige could add to it (Holmes 1995: 17). In addition, factors such as the familiarity of the speakers, the topic of the conversation and the formality of the situation were taken into account in each dialogue. For example, Jaime Berger and Lucy Farinelli [a forensic computer analyst and Berger's work colleague and lover) were equals in most work situations because of their similar occupational status. Also, because they had the same goal to find the murderer and they needed each other's help. One of these situations was when they went through a murder victim's e-mails and speculated the motives of the killer. They worked for the same cause, both of them shared their special knowledge and information to the other, and they asked each other's opinions. (Cornwell 2008: 240–244, 249–252, 256–261, 273–278, 295–308). In these kinds of situations, age was not important. In a more intimate situation, however, Farinelli was treated as a subordinate because of her age. For example, in one scene her inferiority was compared with Berger and Scarpetta: “Scarpetta and Berger weren't separated by many years, almost the same age, of an entirely different generation, a full layer of civilization between Lucy and them.” (Cornwell 2009: 213). This comparison made her feel “controlled and judged”. (Cornwell 2009: 213).

Another example of the multiple power factors that had to be considered came from Berger. In some work situations, she had more power than the other professionals, whereas in other situations, she was an equal with them. In a group meeting of professionals, she had the most power, even though the other people were experts in their field. The factors that added her power were 1) she had arranged the meeting, 2) she was the chairwoman of the meeting, and 3) she had important information about the case that no one else knew then (Cornwell 2009: 94–119).

The amount of power can also change in the middle of a conversation because of, for example, a change of topic. This happened in some of the dialogues. For example, Kay Scarpetta is a colleague and an equal with Lucy Farinelli in work situations, but when they talked about personal matters, Scarpetta had more power because of the topic of the conversation, her age and because she acts as a mother-figure for Farinelli. (Cornwell 2009: 381–391). Another example of a change in power because of a topic change was when Berger had a work appointment with Benton Wesley. They are equals because of their similar occupational status. The power relation, however, changed when she asked him about a topic that involved in a murder case. Wesley had concealed this information from her, but which she had found out. This factor then added her power. (Cornwell 2008: 104–111, 116–120).

Due to the changes of power relations in the dialogues, each power relation in each dialogue was determined separately and in some cases several factors of power were used if the relation could not be determined by one factor, for example, occupational status. This was the case in a scene where Scarpetta held power over a medical examiner, Dr. Lester. Even though, they had similar occupational statuses, Scarpetta had special knowledge of causes of deaths that Dr. Lester did not have. Scarpetta had also been asked to examine the body after Dr. Lester had already done so. This gave Scarpetta more prestige. (Cornwell 2008: 253–256, 262–269, 279–285). In the cases where the power relation changed in the middle of the dialogue, the number of possible questions, interruptions and commands were added in the total number of these features in the appropriate power category. For example, if the power relation changed from equal to unequal in the middle of the dialogue, and three direct commands were uttered, they were placed in the category of unequal power relations and added to the total number of direct commands.

## 1.2 Method

The purpose of this thesis was to study the effects of power relationships on representations of gendered speech in crime fiction. The hypothesis was that crime fiction aims at authenticity in the dialogues, in particular in the choice between the competitive and the co-operative speech styles. The competitive speech style is effective in maintaining power and used when addressing perceived subordinates. When the inequality decreases and the importance of negative and positive politeness increases, the co-operative speech style is used.

The main theory that was used as a basis in this study was Jennifer Coates' findings of how the features of the competitive and the co-operative styles are related to gender. According to Coates (2004: 160–162), gender differences arise because both sexes learn different norms; women tend to learn the co-operative style, and men tend to learn the competitive style. The features distinguishing between the two styles used in this study are interruptions, questions and commands. These are features which appear in the interpersonal communication of both genders, but which they use differently. The features were chosen because they are also the most effective features to express and to maintain power.

Another important theoretical framework for the study was O'barr and Atkins' (in Swann 1989: 124–125) courtroom study which defined men's language as powerful language and that of women as powerless language. Powerful language tends to be correlated with high status positions, whereas powerless language tends to be associated with lower status positions. However, since each sex learns to use language differently, gender must be taken into account (see West & Zimmerman in Swann 1989: 124–125). Gender performance is not necessarily linked with biological sex, and it can contradict society's gender norms. An important guideline in gender studies in this thesis was thus Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1999). Women with high status positions can use powerful language, but, by doing so, they also use the style of the masculine gender that is, the competitive style. This assumption of powerful/competitive style and powerless/equal/co-operative style was tested on the representation of the speech of two fictional



women characters who have a high occupational status in the novels *Scarpetta* (2008)<sup>1</sup> and *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009)<sup>2</sup>. It should be noted, however, that in this thesis, the style referred to as the powerful/competitive style was seen as more effective in unequal power situations, whereas the co-operative style in these situations was expected to be less effective but more so in equal power situations. In this sense, the co-operative style is powerful as well, but usually in friendly interactions that seek solidarity.

Direct commands are more common in the competitive style and the most effective way to make the addressee do as one wishes. The powerful speakers should have, therefore, used them more frequently since they had the right to give orders to subordinates, whereas indirect commands of the co-operative style should have been used in equal encounters since the right to give orders decreased and the need for positive and negative politeness increased. The speakers should have paid attention to the face needs of others that is, they should have respected the need not to be imposed on (negative face) and the need to be liked and admired (positive face). In this present study, commands formed by imperatives, as in “[*Tell*] Mrs. Darien I’m on my way” (SF 178), and declaratives, as in “I [*want*] you to hear this directly because you don’t know me” (SF 451), were categorized as belonging to the group of direct commands. Commands formed by modal verbs, as in “[*Can*] you call a number?” (SF 307), and softeners, as in “You [*probably*] should take this with you” (SF 340), were categorized as belonging to the group of indirect commands. In addition, commands that took the form of a question, as in “Let’s hold the tunes until she’s gone, okay?” (SF 9), and that used the form *Let’s* or the pronoun *we* rather than *you*, as in “[*Let’s*] dust it [...] [*We’ll*] want to get some of the hair and his toothbrush, whatever’s needed for an ID. Let’s do it while we’re here.” (SF 335), were categorized under indirect commands.

Violent interruptions that prevent the other speaker from finishing his/her turn are used in the competitive style, whereas overlaps that encourage the other speaker to continue are used in the co-operative style. In situations of explicit hierarchy, the most powerful speakers tend to use interruptions. They hold the floor and control the topics of

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<sup>1</sup> *Scarpetta* will henceforth be quoted with S and page number.

<sup>2</sup> *the Scarpetta Factor* will henceforth be quoted with SF and page number.

conversation, whereas in equal encounters one has to concern the face needs of others, so the co-operative style is more proper. In this study, interruptions were identified if a speaker was not able to finish his/her turn which was cut off intentionally, as in the following conversation between Benton Wesley and Jaime Berger about Lucy Farinelli:

“When you met with her to discuss what she’s going to– “[Benton Wesley]  
 “I haven’t met with her yet,” Berger interrupted him. (S 105).

Benton Wesley was not able to finish his question because he was intentionally interrupted by Berger. Because the material for this study was already in a written form, the dashes were also used as markers of interruptions and overlaps which were distinguished from interruptions by ‘over-anticipation’ that is, when the next speaker finishes the current speaker’s turn. The following example of Benton Wesley and Jaime Berger’s conversation about him and Kay Scarpetta was identified as overlap:

“I didn’t know John Jay was going to–” [Benton Wesley]  
 “Ask both of you to be visiting lecturers, consultants?” [Jaime Berger] (S 106).

Although, Wesley was not able to finish his turn, the question was finished by Berger, and the thought of Wesley was completed.

Speaker-oriented questions are more common for the competitive style, and they are usually used only for getting information. Powerful speakers use these questions more since they are delimited, direct and force someone to give a specific answer. In addition, in working situations, powerful participants are the ones who make the decisions based on the received information. In this study speaker-oriented questions were identified by their function of getting only relevant information, as in “Where did you meet him and when?” (SF 298). Addressee-oriented questions are more common for the co-operative style, and, thus, usually used in situations that are characterized by co-operation. Addressee-oriented questions are not used for getting specific information; instead, they are used to enquire about the other speaker’s thoughts, feelings, to invite others into a conversation, and to seek consensus. Therefore, they would be used more frequently in situations where the participants are equals. In this study, questions that sought

opinions, as in “What was your impression of him?” (SF 436), consensus, as in “What I’m saying is she probably could check and know about your password, right?” (SF 317), or did not necessarily require an answer but acted more as a means of speculation, as in “Why would a forensic psychology graduate student pick a username like that? Seems extremely insensitive to make an allusion to lunatics or lunacy [...]” (S 296), were categorized as belonging to the group of addressee-oriented questions.

The 32 dialogues were studied from the perspective of how the women use commands, interruptions and questions in unequal and equal power situations. If they adopted the co-operative style, they would use indirect commands, overlaps and addressee-oriented questions. If they adopted the competitive style, they would employ direct commands, interruptions and speaker-oriented questions. The 32 dialogues were divided into four groups: eight dialogues consisted of Scarpetta having the most power and eight dialogues of her having an equal power relation. The same division was made to Berger’s dialogues: in eight of them, she had the most power and in eight of them she had an equal power relation. From each group’s dialogues, the number of each feature by Scarpetta and Berger were identified. The same was done to the features by other interlocutors in each dialogue so that the overall number of questions, commands, and interruptions were found out. In situations of equal power, the speech styles of the interlocutors should have been similar since the goal was co-operation. An example from the first group where Scarpetta held the most power is a scene where she talked with an employee from her office. She held the power because of her superior position. She asked six speaker-oriented and none addressee-oriented questions, whereas the employee asked two speaker-oriented and three addressee-oriented questions. Scarpetta gave 10 direct commands and none indirect ones, whereas the employee gave neither (see appendix 1, example 5). There is a clear distinction who is in charge and maintains the status of power. An example from the second group where Scarpetta had an equal power relation is a scene where she talked with Lucy Farinelli (her niece and a work colleague). The topic of the conversation was work related and they shared opinions. Scarpetta asked two speaker-oriented and two addressee-oriented questions, whereas Farinelli asked two speaker-oriented and one addressee-oriented questions. Moreover, Scarpetta gave two direct and three indirect orders, similarly, Farinelli gave one direct

but none indirect orders (see appendix 2, example 11). The number of the features they used were fairly even with the emphasis on co-operation.

### 1.3 Crime Fiction and Today's 'Queen of Crime'

Men have traditionally dominated the public sphere in real life, and they have also dominated it in fictional crime novels. The main characters, usually detectives, in crime novels have all been men who were extremely intelligent, deductive, reclusive and eccentric and the ones who have solved the crimes and restored the social order. Women have played only minor roles, often that of a victim. Before the Second World War, the dominant view in the crime novel was patriarchal, and the voice of the male detective himself or his male narrator always told the story. (Scaggs 2005: 17–20, Munt 1994: 1–2.)

The patriarchal view was first challenged by Dorothy L. Sayers who introduced her female detective, Harriet Vane, in 1930's. She gave women a new role in crime fiction and described her detective as "strong, independent and sexually active young heroine" (Munt 1994: 10). This image of a new woman then strengthened, and there was an increase of fictional woman detectives from the 1930's to 1940's. The rise of the hard-boiled branch of crime fiction and later, the development of the feminist theory (1970's) assisted that women protagonists really started to increase as a riposte to the male ones. In 1980's, several fictional women private eyes and detectives, such as Sara Paretsky's Victoria Warshawski and Sue Grafton's Kinsey Millhone, were introduced as protagonists. In addition, lesbian detective fiction developed which covered feminist topics, such as sexism by male colleagues and attitudes towards homosexuality. (Munt 1994: 13–19, Scaggs 2005: 26–30.)

The Kay Scarpetta novels involves features from feminine crime fiction in that they introduce a female protagonist, a feminine point of view and feminist topics, such as sexism by male colleagues and employees, and the attitudes towards lesbianism. The novels are written by a woman, the voice of the narrator is woman's, the protagonist and

many of the main characters are women working in occupations that are traditionally dominated by men, and the novels introduce feminist topics. For example, in *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009: 29), a male employee comments on the rumor about the lesbianism of Jaime Berger: “I look [sic] her and go, no way. Must be a vicious rumor because she’s powerful, right? Any woman who’s got her kind of power and prominence? You know what they say, doesn’t mean it’s true.” He continues saying that his girlfriend is a firefighter and according to her, people assume that she is either a lesbian or posing a swimsuit on in a calendar. The example illustrates that women are always marked; they are not seen as ordinary women who just happen to have traditionally masculine professions, but they are immediately labeled as lesbians or as women who exploit their looks. The feminist approach of the novels exposes another view next to “the dominant ideology of white heterosexual masculinity” (Scaggs 2005: 104). Women are given a voice.

Besides being feminist crime fiction (Munt 1994: 30), the Scarpetta novels can be placed under the subcategory of liberal feminism that emphasizes the equality between women and men (Saine 1997: 320). The women are liberated and equal with men, but they still retain their femininity. These ‘new women’ characters are usually strong and independent women with no biological family, but, instead, they have close woman friends, and defend individualism (Munt 1994: 30–33, 41; Saine 1997: 320–321, 336). The characters, Scarpetta and Berger, are both highly educated women and work in traditionally masculine professions. Scarpetta has held several powerful positions, such as the Chief Medical Examiner, a private forensic consultant and the head of the National Forensic Academy. Jaime Berger is the head of the New York County DA’s Sex Crime Unit. They do not have any children of their own. Scarpetta is close with her niece Lucy Farinelli but otherwise, neither Scarpetta nor Berger keeps much contact with their families since “powerful women tended to be loners [...]” (S 170). Liberal feminism also emphasizes the protagonists’ rationality and stability in contrast to the irrationality of the criminals of the stories. The lives of the criminals and the protagonists are often combined at a personal level as well in that usually the criminal threatens the protagonist’s life. (Munt 1994: 30–33, 41; Saine 1997: 320–321, 336.) In *Scarpetta* (2008), both Berger and Scarpetta are threatened by the murderer who tries to

shoot them at Berger's home. In *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009), Scarpetta's life is threatened by a criminal from the past.

Crime fiction aims at authenticity of detail. Liberal feminist crime fiction covers authentic issues, for example sexism, from the point of view of women. In the Scarpetta novels, these issues are introduced by Patricia Cornwell through the voice of Kay Scarpetta. The previous work experience of Cornwell supports the novels' realistic and detailed image of the fields of medicine and law, especially, the authenticity of the jargon used in these fields. Before her writing career, she worked as a crime reporter for the Charlotte Observer, as a computer analyst for the Virginia Chief Medical Examiner's Office and she also worked as a volunteer police officer. Today, she is a Senior Fellow at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, she acts as a forensic consultant, she is an advocate for psychiatric research in the Harvard-affiliated McLean Hospital's National Council, and she has also been the Director of Applied Forensic Science at the National Forensic Academy. (Cornwell 2009.) Moreover, the realistic atmosphere is created by placing the events in actual locations, for example, in the NYC Office of Chief Medical Examiner in New York.<sup>3</sup>

The authentic atmosphere in crime fiction, and in any genre of literature, for that matter, is further supported by realistic characters. According to Mead (quoted in Culpeper 2001: 6), fictional characters can be seen to be representations of real people. He has expressed the humanising approach, and argues that "We recognize, understand and appreciate fictional characters insofar as their appearances, actions, and speech reflect or refer to those of persons in real life." (Mead quoted in Culpeper 2001: 6). According to the mixed approach, the organization of the written text affects our impression of character. "[...] The category of character is [...] dependent on linguistic forms. Character [...] is what readers infer from words, sentences, paragraphs and textual composition depicting, describing or suggesting actions, thoughts, utterances or feelings of a protagonist." (van Peer quoted in Culpeper 2001: 9). Therefore, the protagonist's essence is already partly predetermined for the reader. In short, the author is the one

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<sup>3</sup> NYC Office of Chief Medical Examiner's main office is situated on 520 First Avenue, New York, New York 10016 (NYC Office of Chief Medical Examiner: 2010).

who gives the characteristics of characters and transmits the image she has of the character to the readers. The readers tend to accept these, but they also add their own interpretations. Every reader might have a slightly different interpretation of a certain character, and their prior knowledge affects their interpretations as well. According to Culpeper (2001: 10), we tend to “interpret characters with the structures and processes which we use to interpret our real-life experiences of people. We also frequently talk about characters in terms applicable to real people.” In this sense, the author is also transferring his/hers own interpretations of authentic people through the characters.

The humanizing and the mixed approach can both be identified in Cornwell’s writing. Cornwell introduces characters of different status, occupation, sex, age and race. The authenticity and the references to people in real life are expressed in *Scarpetta* (2008) and in *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009) by giving the characters different styles of speaking in order to make them more lifelike. For example, Pete Marino (a detective) uses informal language that is marked in writing by expressions such as “Yo” and “What’s up?” (SF 307) at work and at home, and curses almost in every situation. Benton Wesley (a forensic psychologist), Kay Scarpetta (a medical examiner), Lucy Farinelli (a forensic computer analyst) and Jaime Berger (a district attorney) use psychological, medical, computer and legal jargon, and they speak very formally in working situations. Apart from Farinelli, who uses swearing in almost all situations. The realistic image is also reinforced by the development of the personalities of the characters as they change during the 17 Scarpetta novels. They are affected by authentic situations such as the September 11 terrorist attacks, the economic recession and especially death. In Cornwell's own words, “I know this sounds weird, but I let my characters be who they are even if I go, 'Please don't do that.’” (Quoted in Memmot 2008). The characters seem to lead a life of their own. To sum up, by presenting representations of real people of different sex, age, race, occupation and status, and by introducing authentic events and situations, also, the language can be considered as realistic and as an imitation of authentic speech. The fictional power relationships in the Scarpetta series mirror the perceived authentic power hierarchies. In the same way, the dialogues also add to the sense of authenticity.

## 2 SEX, GENDER AND GENDER PERFORMANCE

The purpose of this study is to determine whether the power relations affect the speech styles the women characters use in crime fiction. This research question is based on the findings of sociolinguistic studies of authentic interaction. According to the findings (see Coates, West & Zimmerman, O'barr & Atkins), the competitive style is effective in maintaining and expressing power, whereas the co-operative style is more polite and proper when the amount of power is divided evenly, when the emphasis is on co-operation, or when a perceived subordinate addresses to a perceived superior. The findings of this present study are drawn from dialogues that are representations of authentic speech. The hypothesis is that crime fiction aims at authenticity in the dialogues, in particular in the choice between the competitive and the co-operative speech styles. The competitive speech style is more effective in maintaining power and it is used by the perceived superiors in situations of unequal power between the parties, whereas the co-operative speech style is used when the inequality between the parties decreases and the importance of positive and negative politeness increases. Since differences in power relations have been shown to create differences in language use, the women would vary their speech styles according to the situation. In this chapter, the concepts of sex, gender, and gender performance are being discussed. Moreover, gender performance is discussed from the points of view of how society defines the gender roles, and how an individual can manipulate his or her own behavior, depending on how he/she wants to perform his/her gender.

### 2.1 Gender, Society and Individual

The concept of sex refers to the biological sex, *male* and *female*, whereas the concept of gender, *man* and *woman*, refers to a social and cultural performance (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 10). When a baby is born, the doctor determines the baby's sex based on the baby's reproductive organs: it is either a boy or a girl. The distinction and categorization between male and female's reproductive organs are based on our cultural beliefs. In the words of Anne Fausto-Sterling:



Labeling someone a man or a woman is a social decision. We may use scientific knowledge to help us make the decision, but only our beliefs about gender – not science – can define our sex. Furthermore, our beliefs about gender affect what kinds of knowledge scientists produce about sex in the first place. (Quoted in Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 10–11).

Biology and science are already gendered culturally as male and female. Biology thus guarantees a particular version of the feminine and the masculine (Butler 1990: 141). In order to become a woman or a man, one needs to follow society's norms of gender; males are expected to follow the norms of masculinity, and females are expected to follow the norms of femininity.

Doing gender consist of pre-set norms. The stress is on the word *do*. We do not just have gender, but it is something we perform and therefore, “gender is always doing” (Butler 1999: 33). In the beginning, parents do the gender work on behalf of the child, and they create the expected gender for them, for example, through clothes and language. Boys are dressed in blue and girls in pink, boys wear pants and girls wear skirts, boys get cars for toys and girls get dolls, boys get more direct and more emphatic prohibitives (don't and no!) than girls. Girls are told more diminutives (kitty) and more inner state words (happy, sad) than boys are. Through gender, similarity is minimized and difference maximized. At some point, the different treatment causes children to learn to differentiate themselves from the other sex: they have grown into boys or into girls. At this point, they start to do their own gender work and to support the gender work of other people. (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 15–20.)

Society sets the gender norms that it expects everyone to follow. However, since gender is always doing, everyone can decide for themselves how they will perform their gender. They can follow the expected norms or contradict them. For example, a little girl can “take on the other gender” (Butler 1999: 12) instead of following the culturally constructed feminine norms of a woman. The so-called tomboy performance is usually tolerated until it threatens the onset of adolescent femininity at which point, the society's norms are stricter and more judgmental. The tomboyish behavior tends to be remodeled

into compliant forms of femininity by parents and society (Halberstam 1998: 5–6, 268). In short, everyone can perform gender of his/her choice, but society tries to maintain the norms that it sees suitable for each sex.

Society aims to maintain the gender norms, similarly it classifies some features as proper for men and some for women. The dominant gender ideology, “a set of beliefs that govern people's participation in the gender order, and by which they explain and justify that participation” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 35), of our western industrial society allocates certain features to women and men:

Men are strong, women are weak; men are brave, women are timid; men are aggressive, women are passive; men are sex-driven, women are relationship-driven; men are impassive, women are emotional; men are rational, women are irrational; men are direct, women are indirect; men are competitive, women are cooperative; men are practical, women are nurturing; men are rough, women are gentle (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 35).

These features are seen as the essential qualities of women and men, and they are supported by society. Parents tend to accentuate these features to their children because their parents have been accentuated the same features. Thus, the features mostly stay the same from generation to generation because not many want to deviate from the social norm. These features are usually transferred so routinely that individuals are not even conscious of them.

Besides the qualities expected of women and men by society, there is a division of expected emotional responses. Men learn not to show fear and not to cry in situations where it is allowed and even expected of women. For example, women can cry and be scared at the movies and in many every-day situations. In addition, women tend to cry in certain situations even though they would not feel like crying. They have to do this because it is expected of them. Gendered alternatives are learned choices whether to cry in certain situations or not. (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 28–30.) Of course, the social expectation is that women learn to cry even though they would not feel like it, and men learn not to cry.

Society expects certain qualities and emotional responses from both genders. These stereotypical features also affect the possibilities of suitable occupations for the genders. In western societies, the dominant norm places men in the public sphere and women in the private, domestic sphere. According to the dominant gender ideology (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 35), women are gentle, nurturing and co-operative, which reinforces their role as caretakers. The majority of women work in the service sector (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 37–41). Men on the other hand, are stereotypically competitive, practical and rough. These are qualities that can be seen effective, for example, in managerial posts. In the UK in 2008, men were more often employed in skilled trades (men c 19% and women c 2%) and in managerial and senior official posts (men c 19% and women c 11%), whereas women were more often employed in administrative and secretarial posts (women c 19% and men c 4%), in personal services (women c 15% and men c 3%), and in sales and customer services (women c 11% and men c 4%). Overall, the services sector consisted of 74 % male employee jobs and 92% female employee jobs (Office for National Statistics 2008).

Since fictional characters can be seen as representations of real people and we tend to interpret them the same way we interpret our real-life experiences of people, the gender norms and the availability to gender performance can be applied to the women characters in crime fiction, as well. The occupational distribution into public (mainly men employees) and private sphere (mainly women employees), the stereotypical features of women and men, and the gender norms are deviated by Kay Scarpetta and Jaime Berger in *Scarpetta* (2008) and *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009). Neither of the women fits in the stereotypical role of a woman. Neither of them has children. They have been married before, but both of them have got divorced. Scarpetta has recently got married to Benton Wesley in the novel *Scarpetta* (2008), but their relationship is based on similar life styles. They both hold powerful positions and often work on the same cases: Scarpetta as the medical examiner and Benton as the forensic psychologist. They are both equally busy, and they both try to find time to spend together, time that is not related with work. They are “always professionally inseparable” (S 89). Scarpetta does not have children of her own, but she has always thought Lucy Farinelli, her niece, as her daughter. They, too, work together, and intimate topics are often discussed even

during the working time. In the example below, Farinelli and Scarpetta are examining a hotel room, and, at the same time, Scarpetta is trying to find out why Farinelli has been so angry lately:

“Are the two of you not communicating?” She continued asking questions, and Lucy continued her silence. Scarpetta dug through tangles of charges and shiny plastic envelopes for recycling prepaid cell phones, at least five of them. “Are you fighting?” She returned to bed and began digging through the dirty clothing on it, pulling back the linens. “Are you not having sex?” [...] She got on the floor to look under furniture (SF 373).

Scarpetta is asking very personal questions while working. She combines the role of a caretaker and the role of a working professional. She is, however, doing this when there is not anyone else in the room. If there were, she would just maintain the professional role. Berger’s connection with Farinelli is that they are in a relationship with each other. They also work together and both of them hold powerful positions (Farinelli owns her own forensic computer investigation firm). They, however, do not hold equal positions in personal matters. Berger is several years older than Farinelli who is the one who tries to find the time to work on their relationship, but not Berger. Their personal matters are also often mixed with matters related with work. The point here is that, both main characters have the access to the public sphere, and they are not controlled by domestic obligations. They do, however, combine these; intimate topics are sometimes discussed while working. Not only do the characters have the access to public sphere, because they are not controlled by the needs of other people that is they do not have to stay at home with the children, they alter their behavior according to a situation. For example, intimate topics are discussed, which is more typically women’s feature (Coates 2004: 127–128), but only privately. This example of a work situation illustrates that the characters are performing their gender in a way untypical of a stereotypical female. The matter of gender performance and work is further discussed in the next section.

## 2.2 Gender Performance

The division into feminine and masculine attributes is too black-and-white. In different contexts, both men and women perform both feminine and masculine identities to different degrees; they perform hegemonic femininity and hegemonic masculinity, which are preferred by society, but also subversive femininities and masculinities (McElhinny 1995: 219). In many professions, however, the dominant western gender ideology is maintained and thus, some occupations prefer the performance of hegemonic masculinity. For example, police officers tend to be mostly men, since they supposedly have the required features, such as strength, bravery, aggression, and impassive and practical behavior. Women, on the other hand, supposedly have the opposite features than men, which are seen unfavorable in the profession of a police officer. For this reason, women can exploit “the symbolic manipulation” (a term used by McElhinny 1995: 220) of gender markers of hegemonic masculinity that is, they can, for example, wear threadbare shoes, which signals that they are doing “hard” work. By doing this, they might get the opportunity to show that they are as suitable as men for the same profession. Appearance is a way to perform gender and to affect the impression others get. One can “perform gender so gender will be ignored” (McElhinny 1995: 220).

Hegemonic masculinity is preferred in some professions, and women, in order to be suited for these professions and be treated as equal colleagues, have to contradict the traditional gender norms and perform a subversive femininity. A study by McElhinny (1995: 222–238) about female and male police officers’ ways to handle the situations of domestic violence revealed some features that are considered necessary for a police officer. These features include physical force, emotional distance in the form of objectivity, impartiality and facelessness. Emotional distance is necessary in order to deal with stressful situations associated with police work. They cannot take sides but just perform their professional role, irrespective of what their personal opinion is. For example, in McElhinny’s study (1995: 222–238), a woman police officer questioning an abused woman did not answer her questions and used only few minimal responses. She interrupted and asked only questions that were relevant to a police report. All

emotionality was minimized. All these features are in contrast to those that are usually associated with women. It seems that for woman police officers, it is necessary to perform a subversive femininity, not the hegemonic one. It should be noted that the dominant gender of occupation fields is not determined by the sex of the majority of its occupants, but also by society's norms of which professions men and women should occupy (McElhinny 1995: 221). Therefore, the professions of a medical examiner and a prosecutor are also those where traditional feminine features are seen as undesirable. Medical examiners have to be emotionally strong, impassive and have the nerves of steel, since they have to work among dead people. The same applies to prosecutors. They need to be impassive, rational, competitive and even aggressive. Emotional distance is necessary in both occupations. In *From Potter's Field*, Pete Marino's comment to Kay Scarpetta emphasizes the idea of women's unsuitability in some professions if they act according to traditional feminine gender norms: "But you're more like a guy [...] I can talk to you like a guy. And you know what you're doing. You didn't get where you are because you're a woman [...] You got where you are in spite of your being one." (Cornwell 1995: 164–165). In order to blend in the male dominant professions, the main characters of the novels have to perform gender so that gender will be ignored.

Kay Scarpetta performs a subversive femininity in her appearance meaning, she mixes the traditional features of masculinity and femininity. She has shortish blond hair, blue eyes and womanly shapes. She is not overwhelmingly beautiful, but she has strong features and appearance that attracts men. She does not hide her feminine appearance entirely, but neutralizes it by not using much make-up, by not wearing skirts that often, and by wearing simplified but quality pant suits which are usually of neutral colors, such as blue, black, silver and brown. The feature that is emphasized in the novels are her strong hands. Her strong features and strong hands also weaken the image of a fragile woman. (Cornwell 2008, 2009.)

The performance of a subversive femininity shows clearly in Scarpetta's behavior. Pete Marino (a detective and a colleague of Scarpetta) describes her as follows: "People said that about her all the time, that she said and did less, rather than more, and because of it

made her point more loudly, so to speak. She wasn't histrionic." (S 313). The comment immediately excludes the image of a stereotypical talkative woman. In the profession of a medical examiner, Scarpetta has to be objective and keep her emotions separate from her work. She has to maintain her professional role most of the day, since she is working on the cases almost around the clock. Even though, she has to be emotionally distant, she displays a positive affect, which is usually required in traditional female jobs (McElhinny 1995: 225), for example, in situations where she has to communicate with a family member of a deceased. In the example below, she expresses her condolences and uses polite forms, serves tea and socializes with the mother of the deceased who has just identified her daughter's body. As the mother starts asking details about her daughter's death, Scarpetta adopts her professional role which could be seen as somewhat emotionless:

"I'll remind you what I said about details, about the caution we need to exercise right now," Scarpetta replied. "I can tell you that I found no obvious signs of a struggle. It appears Toni was struck on the head, causing a large contusion, a lot of hemorrhage into her brain, which indicates a survival time that was long enough for significant tissue response." (SF 23).

She is using the medical jargon and also, that of criminal investigation, reminding the mother that the case is still open and she cannot give any specific details until the case is closed. The reader, however, is told that in her mind, she hopes that the mother's friends and workmates would stay close by and that she would not be left alone. Here the masculine professional role and the emotional feminine role are combined. However, sometimes it seems that she cannot let go of her strong and fearless masculine performance. For example, after receiving a parcel bomb, she first cannot express grief or fear, which are features that society would expect of women, not even to her husband Benton Wesley. She holds back her tears and fear and instead of showing her real emotions, she hides inside the shower from Wesley and shows only anger. Although untypical for the character, she curses occasionally:

It was as if someone else was talking through her mouth, someone she didn't know or like. "Maybe they are using it in drones, who the hell gives a shit. Except my goddamn phone knows exactly where it goddamn is even if I don't right this

goddamn minute, and that sort of tracking is child's play for Lucy." [...] You know I really hate it when someone tells me not to be upset. I spend my entire life not being upset because I'm fucking not allowed to be fucking upset. Well, right now I'm upset and I'm going to feel it because I can't seem to help it. If I could help it I wouldn't be upset now, would I." (SF 205).

She is holding back her actual emotions and trying to be in control of the situation. Crying is a stereotypical feature of femininity and also a feature of powerlessness (Coates 1996: 235–236), therefore, Scarpetta is trying to control herself because otherwise it would mean that she does not have the power over the situation. Although, she is performing a subversive femininity most of her working time, she likes to express her traditional feminine side too: in her spare time she loves to cook Italian food, and making sauces, pastas and breads herself. She also likes gardening and playing tennis.

In contrast to Scarpetta, Jaime Berger performs a hegemonic femininity in her appearance. She is described as attractive; deep blue eyes, brown hair, a slim and curvy figure. She is always dressed neatly and in expensive clothes, and she often wears skirts and high heels. (S 63–64.) Even though she does not hide her femininity, she is not provocative either. She does not leave room for objectification: "It was well known that if the attention of lawyers, cops, or violent offenders began wondering over her physical landscape, she'd lean close, point at her eyes, and say, "Look here. Look right here when I'm talking to you."]" (S 63). According to McElhinny (1995: 224), masculine appearance is not necessarily enough for others to define a woman as masculine. A woman with a feminine appearance might still be labeled masculine, because of her actions. This is the case with Berger.

Berger performs a hegemonic femininity in her appearance, but in her behavior, she performs a subversive femininity. As a Head Prosecutor, she has to eliminate the personal and emotional and often use an aggressive tactic to get the necessary information from the accused. The professional callousness often reaches her private life, and she frequently acts like a prosecutor when she talks with her colleagues as if she was cross-examining them. She does not give away any personal information about her life: she seldom shows any emotions and ignores all that is not somehow related to



work. For example, in one scene, Benton Wesley (her work colleague and Scarpetta's husband) tells her about Oscar Bane who is a patient of his. Bane is a murder suspect who has told Wesley he hated the police and Jaime Berger. Bane's comment does not seem to have any effect on Berger who comments: "'Yes he's cooperated with the police [...] His excessive cooperation won't prove helpful.' As if she hadn't heard the part about Oscar hating her.'" (S 68). She keeps the professional mask on almost at all times.

To sum up, women working in occupations that prefer masculinity must restrain their femininity especially in their actions and in some cases in their appearances. The case in point is the profession of a police officer where masculinity is preferred in appearance and in actions. This restraining shows in the language use as well. For example, a woman police officer performing a hegemonic femininity among several male police officers would stand out from the rest the group in an undesirable way. It is, therefore, necessary for her to adopt a similar speech style that the men use in order to become acceptable. Different speaking styles give rise to divisions within groups, whereas a unified style would bring people closer together (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 315). In addition, some speech features that women are traditionally seen to use, for example, minimal responses, have to be eliminated in order to maintain the emotional distance and the professional image. Scarpetta and Berger perform their gender in their appearance, actions and language use to different extend, depending on the situation. It should be emphasized still that one single feature does not constitute a style, whereas several features combined do. Furthermore, a performance does not consist of a single act, but a set of repeated acts (Butler 1999: xv; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 306–315). Therefore, for a style to become a part of the performance, it has to be repeated. For example, the women characters in the novels have to use the competitive speech style which includes the repetition of certain features, repeatedly in working situations.

### 3 LANGUAGE, POWER AND APPROPRIATENESS

It is not enough to master the grammatical and phonological rules of a language. Dell Hymes (1971) was the first who argued that in addition to linguistic competence, one also has to learn the social and cultural norms in order to become an effectively functioning member of a speech community. By learning the social and cultural norms, one learns to use the language appropriately. Everyone has to learn when it is appropriate to speak or when to remain silent, how to speak in different occasions to communicate the meanings of respect, seriousness, humor, politeness and intimacy. (Coates 2004: 85–86.) The knowledge of how to use language appropriately constitutes communicative competence.

Women and men learn usually different norms of communicative competence, and, thus, also different speaking styles. The speech features themselves are the same, but how they use these features differs. The difference approach identifies two speech style groups; the competitive style group and the co-operative style group (Coates 2004: 6, 160–162). The speakers who adopt the competitive speech style learn to assert a position of dominance, to attract and maintain an audience and to assert themselves when another speaker has the floor (Coates 2004: 161). These speakers learn the style that is seen more effective in high status occupations from the very early on. The speakers who adopt the co-operative style learn to create and maintain relationships of closeness and equality, to criticise others in acceptable ways and to accurately interpret the speech of others who are mainly of the same gender (Coates 2004: 160). These speakers learn the style that can be seen as more effective in situations where solidarity, co-operation and politeness are important factors.

The following sections introduce firstly, the different aspects of gendered speech. Since the interest of this study is in the representation of gendered speech and power, the topics of what gives people power and how power can be expressed through language are being discussed secondly.

### 3.1 Gendered Speech

It has been claimed that the speech style women use partly prevents them from achieving the power that men hold in society. This claim was made by Robin Lakoff (1975) who argued that women tend to use language features that give the impression of uncertainty, politeness and hesitancy. She listed a number of features as belonging to 'women's language', such as 'empty' adjectives, tag questions, hedges, compliments, mitigators and positive use of minimal responses. Women adopt the language features as societal norms and, therefore, remain in their subordinate position. It should be noted that her arguments were not based on empirical evidence but were her own interpretations. (Lakoff quoted in Swann 1989: 123–124; Mesthrie, et al. 2000: 230–231.) This has been seen to reduce their scientific value. Although, Lakoff arguments are widely criticized, her observations launched “a far-reaching program of research on language and gender whose effects we still feel today.” (Bucholtz & Hall 1995: 1). Some of these speech features are still regarded as the features of subordinate speech.

Another interpretation of gendered speech has been that the differences between men and women's language derive from the differences in power. One study has claimed that power is also linked with gender. Men tend to dominate in interactions, because they tend to hold more powerful positions than women do. (West & Zimmerman quoted in Swann 1989: 124–125; Mesthrie, et al. 2000: 231.) Another study has determined the differences between men and women's language only in terms of power, not gender. This means that the speech features which Lakoff defined as belonging to 'women's language', can be found in the speeches of both sexes. Some women with a high social status used very few features of 'women's language', whereas some men with low social status used several of these features. These findings were explained resulting from the social status of the testees and their previous courtroom experiences: the higher the social status and the more experience the witness had, the less he/she used the features of 'women's language'. It has, therefore, been suggested that the term 'women's language' should be replaced by the term 'powerless language' since the feminine features tend to be linked with low status positions. The reason why women

tend to use more features of ‘powerless language’ is that they also tend to hold less powerful positions than men do. In turn, men tend to use more features of ‘powerful language’. (O’barr and Atkins quoted in Swann 1989: 124–125.) In this thesis, the courtroom study is used to explore how the hypothesis applies to fiction; is ‘powerful language’ in high status situations used. In this study, however, in addition to social status, gender is taken into account. The speakers of the competitive style (who are, according to traditional gender norms, mostly men) learn to use the so called powerful language early on, and this style is seen to grant the speakers power in high status situations. Because gender is performed, the speakers who have learned the co-operative style (who are, according to gender norms, mostly women), can also adopt the competitive style, although, it then contradicts the gender norms that are expected of women.

The power aspect is opposed by a suggestion that the speech differences gain their meaning from the context. Children tend to form separate single-sex groups and adopt the rules that are common for each group, which means that the same linguistic features may have different meanings in each group. Girls learn to use language as a means of intimacy and connection, whereas boys learn to use it as a means of gaining status and independence. (Tannen quoted in Mesthrie, et al. 2000: 233.) For example, for girls, speaker-oriented questions, which are used in getting information, act as a means to draw someone into a conversation. They might even ask a question they already know the answer to. For boys, speaker-oriented questions act only as a means to get information. Sometimes, they might not even ask information, because it would signal their lack of knowledge. Women’s style to use language is not powerless, they use it in the way they think is appropriate for them; they follow the behaviour norms that they have learned in their own groups (Mesthrie, et al. 2000: 231–233). It should be noted that there, of course, are exceptions, and for example, age, ethnicity, class and religion affect a person's conversation style. Nonetheless, each gender tends to use the speech features which are more common for their gender. If they decide to deviate from the pattern, they also contradict the social expectations. Moreover, people tend to speak

differently depending on with whom they are talking, for what purposes and in what kind of situation. In short, the context must always be taken into account.

### 3.2 Power in Relationships

One definition for power from a sociological perspective is that it includes “both the ability to control others and the ability to accomplish one’s goals. This is manifest in the degree to which one person or a group can impose their plans and evaluations at the expense of others.” (Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 3). The first power combination that a child learns is between the child and the parents. Parents are the ones who give the orders and permissions which the child must obey. Later on, he/she will be faced with others in power in everyday life, especially in working life. For example, medical doctors are higher in the occupational status hierarchy than nurses and patients. Even though a patient would have an equal occupational status with a doctor, he/she would still have less power in the doctor–patient situation. The same applies to courtrooms and police situations. These are examples of ‘common-sense’ assumptions which see authority and hierarchy as natural in certain situations (Fairclough 1989: 2). Everyone learns to act certain ways with certain people because they have learned to follow their community’s values and its ideology (Kiesling 1997: 67). Occupational status, however, is not necessarily enough for someone to hold the most power. According to Holmes & Stubbe (2003: 4–5), “Relative power needs to be assessed not only in the particular social context in which an interaction takes place, but more particularly in the specific discourse context of any contribution.” The amount of power that a person has changes in different situations.

Occupational status is, thus, only one source of power and other factors, such as money, special knowledge, social prestige, age and sex, can place people higher than others in the power hierarchy (Holmes 1995: 17). For example, according to most western societies, the young must respect the old, men are seen as the norm instead of women, money brings power in business, and special knowledge or a discussion topic may place

the speaker above the others: his/hers opinions are taken more seriously, they are valued and they can even affect the end result (Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 4). The situation of course always has an effect. A person who holds the most power in one situation does not necessarily do so in some other situation. For example, a police officer is a subordinate as a patient in a doctor-patient situation, however, the police officer is the superior when he pulls the doctor over because of speeding. Both of them have power because of their occupational statuses, but in different situations.

Politeness in speech is also connected with power hierarchies, and it can be described as showing concern for one's own 'face' and also that of the others. People express positive politeness when they try to satisfy the positive face needs of others, that is, they express warmth towards the addressee's need to be liked and admired. People can also express negative politeness when they respect the negative face needs of others, that is, they avoid threatening the face of others and avoid imposing on them. (Brown and Levinson 1994: 61–62.) Negative politeness emphasizes distance, whereas positive politeness minimizes it.

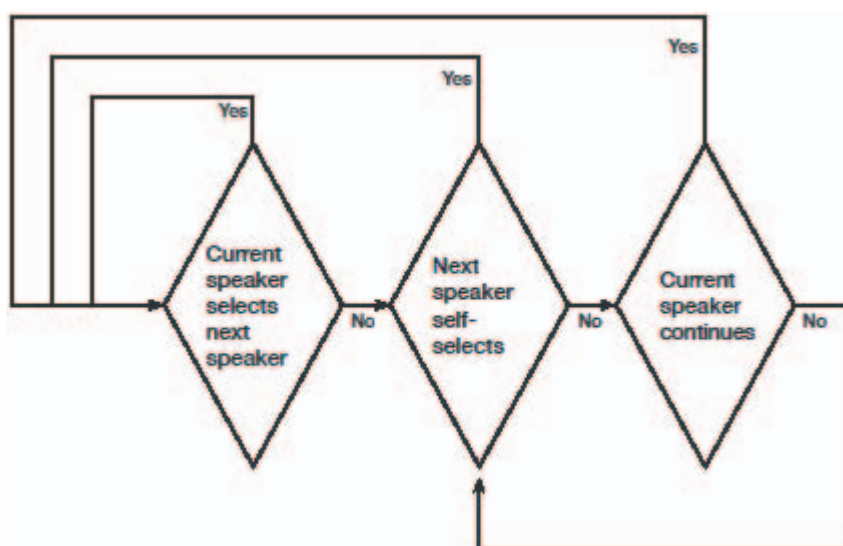
By showing concern for the face of the others, one expresses respect towards them and avoids offending them. Some utterances can be seen as face-threatening acts (FTA) that can threaten the face of both the hearer as well as the speaker. They include insults, orders, suggestions, advices and requests, for example, because they disturb the others' freedom of action (Holmes 1995: 4–5, 14; Pschaid 1993: 112–114). Different strategies, such as indirectness, softeners, greetings, apologies and compliments, can be used to minimize the threat in these kinds of situations. Negative politeness is more commonly used in formal situations by subordinates when they interact with superiors, whereas positive politeness is more commonly used between equals and in less formal situations. Moreover, the people in power can choose whether to use politeness strategies, such as indirectness, hedging, giving praise and humor, or not. They can, for example, interrupt, give direct orders, ask questions and ignore subordinates, that is, the subordinates can be treated impolitely. (Holmes 1995: 16–20.) All in all, attention to negative and positive politeness tends to increase as the 'right' of one person to give commands to another decreases (Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 41). Politeness strategies are more

important between equals and when a subordinate addresses a superior. It should also be noted that there are situations where the positive as well as the negative politeness might disturb the outcome, for example, in the occupation of a prosecutor. Thus the need for politeness varies from situation to situation.

The power status affects the way one uses language which, in turn, acts as a portal through which power over others can be expressed. Language is politics and according to Lakoff (1990: 13), “How well language is used translates directly into how well one’s needs are met, into success or failure, climbing to the top of the hierarchy or settling around the bottom [...]”. Even small markers, such as the forms of address, can indicate power positions and the level of familiarity between the speakers. Usually the use of first names implies that the speakers know each other well, and the level of formality is fairly low. As regards to power, the speakers are equals. In the *Scarpetta* (2008) and *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009: 94, 114), Berger and Scarpetta call each other by their first names: Jaime and Kay. Moreover, in working situations where speakers have unequal power statuses, first names are usually used by the superiors when they are addressing their perceived subordinates. For example, Scarpetta calls one of her employee by his first name: Dennis (SF 340). The more powerful speaker may call a subordinate by his/hers first name, or sometimes the subordinate is not addressed at all, who instead has to call the superior by his/hers title and last name. (Pschaid 1993: 49, 55.) For example, Scarpetta is called as Dr. Scarpetta by a detective working with a murder case. Scarpetta has more power because of special knowledge, prestige and because she holds a more powerful position in the investigation than the detective (SF 110). There might, of course, be exceptions, depending, for example, on the formality of the situation, but usually it is regarded as disrespectful if a subordinate addresses his/hers superior by the first name. In addition, since language is politics, people can emphasize their status by using certain conversational features, such as interruptions, commands and questions. This will be discussed in more detail in the following subchapters.

### 3.2.1 Interruptions

Interruption can be used as a means to express power; it is a powerful means to control turn-taking and conversation topics. It is an aggressive violation to cut someone's right to speak even though there has been no indication that the speaker is about to finish and give up the floor. Interruptions contradict the natural turn-taking in a conversation. The following model illustrates how turn-taking should proceed:



**Figure 1:** Turn-taking in Conversation (Zimmerman & West quoted in Coates 2004: 112)

The model is based on the participants' equal rights. The diamonds represent decision points. According to the model, the speaker may give the floor to another speaker by asking a question, for example, on which the addressee is invited to answer. If the first speaker does not select the next one, other participants may try to take the floor. If they do not, the current speaker can continue. (Coates 2004: 111–112, Fairclough 1989: 134.) This way one speaker speaks at a time and the conversation should proceed effortlessly. The rules of turn-taking, however, can be broken.



Interruptions are violations of turn-taking. They occur at the beginning or in the middle of the current speaker's turn. They are intentional and prevent the speaker from finishing the turn. An interruption not only violates the other's right to speak; it often completely changes the topic. Thus, interruption is a powerful means for someone to determine the nature and purpose of conversation. It prevents contributions from others in the conversation if the speaker sees them as irrelevant, or if he/she just wants to exercise power over them. (Fairclough 1989: 136; Lakoff 1990: 47.) For example, in *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009: 155), a tv-producer's comment "Then you are worried that this killer might come after—" is interrupted by Benton Wesley (Scarpetta's husband) who is trying to get hold of Scarpetta. Wesley also changes the topic to what is important: "You don't know what I'm worried about, and I don't want to waste time discussing it. I'm asking you to get hold of Kay." (SF: 155). Moreover, the interrupter gains the floor. The more one interrupts the more he/she is able to choose the topic. Interruptions, topic control and floor holding are closely linked with power and more common for the competitive speech style (Lakoff 1990: 49; Pschaid 1993: 56). In *Scarpetta* (2008: 228), Jaime Berger's style to express power is described along these lines "Marino always knew when Berger took somebody seriously. She didn't interrupt or change the topic of a conversation. He kept talking because she kept listening [...]". This example suggests that Berger seems to use interruptions as a means to control the topics, and she seems to use them when she sees the topic as irrelevant and to which she has no interest in.

In the co-operative speech style, interruptions are seen as rude and impolite. Instead simultaneous talk is regarded as a means of encouraging someone to continue talking. These overlaps are 'over-anticipations', that is, the next speaker overlaps the last word of the current speaker without intended violation (Coates 2004: 113). For the co-operative speech style, overlapping signals close attention to what the speaker is saying, agreement, understanding and a multilayered development of topics (Coates 1996: 118–124, 128–133). For example, the speakers tend to finish each other's sentences, which signals that they are paying attention to the conversation, and, at the same time, they signal understanding and shared feelings by anticipating what the other person is going to say. In overlaps, the common interest is the same and the purpose is to support the speech of others' topics in a group where all are equals. This also emphasizes the

fact that the co-operative style tends to be more polite. By avoiding interruptions, the speakers are respecting the negative face needs of others (Holmes 1995: 52). Moreover, if interrupted, the speakers tend to accept it; they do not want to violate the interrupter's right to speak and therefore, remain silent (Coates 2004: 115). One cannot say that the users of this style are powerless. In some situations, however, being silent might be interpreted as reluctance to get involved in a conversation, or that the speakers do not have anything to say when in fact, they are just respecting the interrupter's right to speak (Holmes 1995: 53). In competitive situations, this more submissive and polite style can act against the speakers, and they will not be able to take part equally to conversations and decision-makings. Furthermore, they might even be regarded as incompetent and certainly not suitable for positions of power. In the case of Scarpetta and Berger, they already hold powerful positions, and there is no doubt that they are competent in their professions. They can, however, still be interrupted and silenced as well as either remain silent or push their opinion through despite the interruption, depending on which style they use.

### 3.2.2 Commands

Direct commands are “the most obvious means by which one person can get another to do as they wish [...]” (Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 32-33) and more commonly used in the competitive speech style. The powerful participant can give direct commands which the non-powerful participant is obligated to obey. For example, at work, the people who hold the highest positions in the power hierarchy can give commands to their subordinates; doctors can give commands to patients and nurses, while in a courtroom, everyone has to obey the judge. In the Scarpetta novels, the right to give orders varied according to the situations. For example, Scarpetta could give orders in a doctor-patient situation and when talking to her work colleagues who held lower power positions than her. Jaime Berger could give commands in interrogation situations and in meetings concerning the open crime cases. In these kinds of group meetings, Berger could also give orders to Scarpetta, but still in most situations, they were equals in power.

The most typical forms of commands are imperatives, as when Scarpetta says: “Tell Mrs. Darien I’m on my way” to her subordinate at work (SF 9) or, as when Pete Marino says: “Find Bonell for me, get the dispatcher too so I can get it from her direct” to his subordinate at work (SF 29), and declaratives, as when a bomb expert says: “I need you to give me as much information as you can about the package” (SF 178) to Scarpetta who has received a parcel bomb. The commands can be intensified more by deontic modals, as when Jaime Berger says: “He’ll have to sell it [...]” (SF 449) to her subordinate at work. People who are higher in the hierarchy than their addressees often use these directive forms (Brown & Levinson quoted in Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 32–34). These forms have the most force when the power relation is clearly unequal. In working situations, for example, where there are unequal hierarchical power relations, the competitive style can be seen as the most effective.

In situations of co-operation, politeness, then, is important, and the right to give direct orders decreases. In these situations, FTAs are minimized with different strategies. Commands are usually indirect and softened by, for example, modal verbs, as when Scarpetta remarks: “You might want to bag them, take them with you, to see if there’s any sort of residue” (SF 180) to a bomb expert after she received a parcel bomb or, as when Pete Marino remarks: “Can you call a number?” (SF 307) to his work colleague of equal power status. The order might take a form of a question, as when Scarpetta says: “Let’s hold the tunes until she’s gone, okay?” (SF 9) to her work colleague. Imperatives can also be softened by adverbs such as *please*, *perhaps* and *maybe*, as when Scarpetta says: “You probably should take this with you” (SF 340) to a work colleague of an equal power status. The direct order turns into a polite request (Lakoff 1990: 31). For the co-operative speech style, a form *Let’s*, which suggests a proposition rather than a command and includes the speaker together with the addressee in the proposed action, and the pronoun *we* rather than *you* are also common (Coates 2004: 94–96). As when Scarpetta says: “Let’s dust it [...] We’ll want to get some of the hair and his toothbrush, whatever’s needed for an ID. Let’s do it now while we’re here.” (SF 335) to her work colleague of an equal power status in a crime scene. These kinds of polite softeners are usually more commonly used between equals and in situations where a subordinate addresses a superior and wants to mitigate the imposition. In these situations, it is

important to take notice of the addressee's feelings, to maintain equality and not to perform FTA. The problem with indirectness, however, is that the order can be misunderstood or not understood as order at all. (Fairglouch 1989: 156–157; Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 34–55; Lakoff 1990: 32.) In this sense, direct orders are more effective in situations where it is important to get the message through and when possible confusions must be eliminated. Furthermore, if one wants to maintain the hierarchical order and keep the working environment, for example, somewhat formal, the co-operative style would not be as effective as the competitive style.

### 3.2.3 Questions

A command is a powerful means to get the addressee to do as one wishes, whereas a question imposes on the addressee the obligation to answer. The more powerful participants can constraint the contributions of those with less power by choosing the discourse type of the encounter. For example, by asking some specific questions, they can control the topic and hierarchy of turn-taking, in that, the addressee has to answer the specific question. Of course, the non-powerful participants might not answer, but in these cases the powerful participants might form the questions in such a way that the addressee has to answer at least with yes or no. (Fairglouch 1989: 44–47, 135–136.)

All the questions can be divided into two categories: *speaker-oriented questions*, which are concerned with the speaker, and *other-oriented questions*, which are concerned with the addressee. Speaker-oriented questions seek only relevant information, whereas other-oriented questions invite others into conversation and are concerned with the views of the others and thus express solidarity. The questions used in the competitive style tend to be speaker-oriented, that is, they serve the interest of the speaker who needs information, while the questions used in the co-operative style tend to be other-oriented, that is, orientated to the social messages of talk. (Coates 1996: 201.) Speaker-oriented questions are used by people who have the power in certain situations, such as lawyers, police officers and doctors, who use them when they are questioning and collecting information (Fairglouch 1989: 30–31, 44–47).

Speaker-oriented and other-oriented questions have many functions. Speaker-oriented questions aim at getting information, whereas other-oriented questions aim at encouraging someone to participate in a conversation, introducing a new topic, avoiding the role of an expert, checking the views of other participants or inviting someone to tell a story (Coates 1996: 176). Studies have shown (eg. Fishman in Coates 2004: 92–93) that the speakers of the co-operative style tend to use more addressee-oriented questions in order to keep conversations going and to maintain equality, whereas the speakers of the competitive style tend to use more speaker-oriented questions in order to get information. Both of these question styles are powerful since the addressee has to answer (Coates 2004: 93–94).

Both question styles are powerful but in different situations. The co-operative style is powerful since it draws others into conversations and serves as a means of maintaining connection, as when Benton Wesley asked Scarpetta her professional opinion about a murder suspect whom she had examined: “What did your gut tell you?” and “What was your impression of him?” (S 167). These kinds of questions invite the addressee to share his/hers opinion. The competitive style is powerful in getting specific and relevant information. For example, when Jaime Berger interrogated a man who was suspected of a crime, she asked specific questions, such as: “Where were you the night before Thanksgiving?” (SF 300). Furthermore, the speakers of the co-operative style tend to use more questions in informal and intimate situations, whereas the speakers of the competitive style tend to ask more questions in formal and public situations, especially, when the context has high status (Coates 2004: 94; Holmes 1995: 40).

In this thesis, it is expected that the characters will use speaker-oriented questions more frequently in unequal power situations, since they tend to be more commonly used in the competitive speech style, whereas other-oriented questions would be used more frequently in situations of equal power relations, since they are more commonly used in the co-operative style.

#### 4 POWER AND SPEECH STYLE IN FICTIONAL GENDER PERFORMANCE

The purpose of this thesis has been to study the speech styles of two powerful women, Kay Scarpetta and Jaime Berger, in *Scarpetta* (2008) and *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009), and to see if they vary their style according to the power relationship of the participants. This thesis retested the sociolinguistic hypothesis that the competitive speech style is more effective in maintaining power and it is used by the superiors when they are addressing their subordinates, whereas the co-operative speech style is used when the inequality between the speakers decreases and the importance of positive and negative politeness increases. It should be noted, however, that the sociolinguistic hypothesis was retested on fictional characters. Thus the hypothesis for this present study was that crime fiction aims at authenticity in the dialogues, in particular in the choice between the competitive and the co-operative speech styles.

The competitive speech style tends to function best in unequal power situations and it is seen as more effective in the public sphere and high status occupations. The co-operative style, then, encourages equality and solidarity, and it is seen as less effective in expressing and maintaining power in high status professions. Instead, it tends to be more effective in maintaining social relations and equality than the competitive style. Since crime fiction aims at authenticity in the dialogues, it was expected that the women would use the competitive style more frequently when they interact with subordinates and the power relationship is unequal, whereas in interactions where the power is equally divided, the women would use more of the co-operative style. By varying their style, the women also vary their gender performance and thus, occasionally contradict the gender norms of the western society and the norms of appropriateness they have learned as a child. They perform both the hegemonic femininity and, at times, the subversive one.

This present study concentrated on three speech features, all serving different purposes in situations where power is (un)equally divided, and their use. These were interruptions, questions and commands. To be able to identify changes in the speech

styles, the features were further divided into interruptions and overlaps, speaker-oriented and addressee-oriented questions and direct and indirect commands as established by Jennifer Coates (2004). The power relations were determined in each dialogue on the basis of factors such as the occupational status, age, social prestige and special knowledge of the characters. Moreover, factors such as the formality of the discussion, the topic of the discussion, the familiarity of the characters and their gender were taken into account in determining the power hierarchy.

In this chapter, the findings of the study will be presented. The chapter is divided into four subchapters according to the character and the (un)equal power relation. The first two subchapters present the findings of Kay Scarpetta in unequal and equal situations of power. All the 16 dialogues (eight of unequal power situation and eight of equal power situation) are presented one by one in order to keep the contexts where the styles occurred intact. The findings from these dialogues are summarized at the end of the subchapters. Furthermore, the exact divisions of the speech features uttered by Scarpetta and the other interlocutor(s) in each dialogue are illustrated in the appendices 1–2 at the end of this thesis. For example, appendix 1 illustrates all the dialogues of Kay Scarpetta in unequal power situation. In more detail, example 8, in appendix 1, illustrates the divisions of the speech features that occurred in the eighth dialogue. In addition, the divisions of the speech features from the dialogues where the power relation changed in the middle are illustrated in the same way as mentioned above but in another table (see appendix 1. Example 8.1). The last two subchapters present the findings of Jaime Berger in unequal and equal power situations. The divisions of the speech features from her dialogues are illustrated in appendices 3 and 4 at the end of this thesis.

#### 4.1 “Tell me about mindjustice”

For the analysis, altogether eight dialogues from *Scarpetta* (2008) and *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009) were chosen, where Kay Scarpetta holds a superior position in relation to the other participants. In six cases, Scarpetta has power because of her occupational status, in one case, she has the social prestige and expertise, and in another, she has the

power because of both her social prestige and the topic of discussion. Furthermore, in one case, the power relation changes depending on whom she is talking to as one of the participants can be seen as Scarpetta's equal. In this case, the number of the possible questions, interruptions and commands were added to the total number of these features under the category of equal power relations.

Kay Scarpetta has power for a number of reasons. The most obvious one is her occupational status. She is the most famous and one of the first female medical examiners, and she has held several appreciated high status positions, which has given her social prestige, special knowledge and expertise. She often works with the police and district attorneys as an associate, which gives her the right to question people, for example, at crime scenes. In the first of the eight dialogues, Scarpetta questions a dermatologist Dr. Stuart over the phone. Even though Dr. Stuart holds the title Dr. as well, Scarpetta can still be seen as more powerful because of her social prestige and her position as a part of the crime investigation. She has more experience of the occupation of a medical examiner, and she also acts as a special consultant for the police and the District Attorney's Office, which is why she has more prestige than Dr. Stuart. Scarpetta's power over Dr. Stuart, due to her position as a part of the crime investigation, becomes clear right at the beginning of their phone conversation when she is asking questions about Dr. Stuart's patients but who is not willing to co-operate: "I don't know if she's one of your patients. But what I do know is that forensic evidence indicates you'd be wise to be helpful." (S 429). This statement is intended to persuade Dr. Stuart to co-operate. During this discussion it is Scarpetta who asks all the questions but one. Of the total of 13 questions, she asks 11 speaker-oriented questions which demand specific answers. For example, when she asks information about Dr. Stuart's employees: "Do you have anybody working for you or somehow connected with your practice who the police should be aware of?" (S 430). During the conversation, Scarpetta asks only one addressee-oriented question: "What might you be thinking if you were me?" (S 430). The question asks the addressee's (Dr. Stuart's) opinion. Furthermore, Scarpetta uses direct command to make Dr. Stuart answer: "Just tell me no if she's not your patient." (S 429). Scarpetta is also the one who interrupts. Interruptions violate the other's turn to speak and are often linked with topic change. Scarpetta does



not change the topic, but she disagrees with Dr. Stuart's choice of a term, which itself cannot be seen as co-operative behavior. She signals with her by disagreement by violating Lester's turn to speak, thus, threatening her negative face. Dr. Lester is, however, able to continue her turn after the interruption.

In the second dialogue, Scarpetta has power because of her occupational status and position as a part of the investigation. She is questioning a male hotel manager in order to get information. She does not ask his opinions or seek consensus; all the 13 questions asked by her are speaker-oriented of the total of 15 questions. The two questions that the hotel manager asks are also speaker-oriented but Scarpetta does not have to answer either of them because she is the one with more power. In the following example, she is trying to get a confirmation from the hotel manager that it is possible to get out of the hotel room without anyone seeing:

“He could have taken the stairs.” [Scarpetta]  
 “This is most disconcerting. What is it you're hoping to find in there?” [the hotel manager]  
 “And if he left by the stairs, no one would have seen him,” she continued. [Scarpetta] (SF 329).

Instead of answering the hotel manager's question, she continues with the topic of her choice and ignores the questions of the manager. Scarpetta can choose not to answer on the basis of the 'common-sense' assumption that sees hierarchy as natural in some situations (Fairclough 1989: 2). In this case, she is higher in the hierarchy because of her status, occupation and the right to question a possible witness. Scarpetta also gives two direct orders instead of indirect ones. She starts with: “You don't need to wait up here” (SF 333) that could be seen as an option to choose if left like that, which is why she continues: “We'll let you know when we're done” (SF 333). There is no choice anymore and it is obvious that Scarpetta wants the manager to leave. There is also one interruption but no topic change:

“Who is the room billed to? [Scarpetta]  
 “I really shouldn't—” [the hotel manager]

“The man who was staying in that room, Dr. Agee, isn’t there. I’m concerned,” Scarpetta said. [...] “You have no idea where he might be?” (SF 329).

There is no topic change per se; the interruption, however, sidesteps the question for a moment. She states her concern about the possible victim and asks a couple of questions about the possible whereabouts of Dr. Agee and about the entrances of the hotel. Then she comes back to the question “Who is the room billed to?” and gets an answer. The first two dialogue examples indicate that in situations where Scarpetta seeks only information, polite forms are minimized. The goal is to get information as quickly and efficiently as possible, hence, she prefers the competitive style.

In the third dialogue, Scarpetta has power because of her occupational status. She is having a conversation with the mother of a deceased who has come to identify her daughter’s body. The sensitiveness of the situation has some effect on Scarpetta’s speech style in that she uses a few polite forms. Nevertheless, the professionalism and expressionless dominate her behavior and speech, which comes across from the first thing she says when she introduces herself as Dr. Scarpetta. After she has expressed her condolences, she politely states: “I’d like to ask you a few questions, to go over a few things before we see her. Would that be all right?” (SF 19). Instead of giving a direct order, she implies indirectly what is going to happen and further confirms consensus after which she starts collecting information. Of the total of 39 questions, Scarpetta asks 20 speaker-oriented and five addressee-oriented questions. She keeps the interaction professional and does not consider it necessary to answer all questions asked by Mrs. Darien, again, because of the occupational hierarchy. For example, when Mrs. Darien asks details about her daughter’s cause of death, Scarpetta replies: “Mrs. Darien, I need to caution you from the start that anything I tell you is in confidence, and it’s my duty to exercise caution and good judgment in what you and I discuss right now.” (SF 22). She does this twice. Furthermore, in the example below, Scarpetta asks Mrs. Darien to confirm the information about the deceased that her ex-husband had given earlier. Mrs. Darien is upset because her ex-husband had not seen their daughter in years and could not have known the details asked in the information form. She seeks consensus from Scarpetta:

“He checked *no* to everything. What the hell does he know?” [Mrs. Darien]  
 “No depression, moodiness, a change of behavior that might have struck you as unusual [...] Did she have problems sleeping?” [Scarpetta] (SF 23).

Scarpetta does not register the invite of consensus in any way but continues with the professional topic. She has to be objective and emotionally distant in order to maintain her professional face (see the study of McElhinny 1995: 228–238). The professional lack of emotion is somewhat softened by indirect orders which she uses five times and no direct orders at all. For example, instead of forming the command with imperatives or declaratives, Scarpetta uses softeners: “I’d appreciate it if you’d look. [...] Please let me know if we need to correct anything.” (SF 23). In this encounter, she mixes the competitive and the co-operative speech styles.

In the fourth dialogue, Scarpetta has power because of her occupational status. She is a doctor who examines a patient. She, however, has to mix the speech styles because of the sensitiveness of the situation. The patient, Oscar Bane, has found his girlfriend’s body, he seems to be in a confused state of mind and he is a possible murder suspect. Of the total of 164 questions, Scarpetta asks 107 speaker-oriented and 16 addressee-oriented questions which are mainly to seek consensus that the patient, Oscar Bane, is aware why he is being examined and that he does not have to give finger prints and other samples if he does not want to: “Do you understand the purpose of these samples and why you’re under no obligation to give them?” (S 41) and “You understand what we can tell from all that I’ve done today, don’t you, Oscar?” (S 157). The speaker-oriented questions she uses seek background information about Bane and information about what happened in the crime scene. Scarpetta also uses them as a means to steer the conversation when Bane asks inappropriate personal questions:

“If you can touch dead people, why can’t you touch me? Why can’t you hug me?”  
 [Oscar Bane]  
 “Did the person who attacked you try to choke you?” she asked. (S 126).

She ignores Bane’s question and continues to ask questions related to the previous topic. She also uses direct commands in order to steer the conversation. For example,

when Bane is not answering Scarpetta's question she orders: "Tell me why Terri [Bane's girlfriend ] was disappointed." (S 50) and "Tell me more about your struggle with whoever was in her house." (S 124). She uses altogether nine direct commands and three indirect ones which are used because she has to be cautious when examining Bane: "If you don't mind holding your arms as straight as you can." (S 45). Even though Oscar uses most of the direct orders (19), Scarpetta does not need to obey since she is the superior in the situation and many of Bane's orders are of a personal type, such as "I need you to hug me." (S 54) or "You need to read my mind while you can." (S 126). In these two previous dialogues, the gender of the addressee does not seem to have an influence on the speech style of Scarpetta, whereas the sensitive situation does.

In the fifth dialogue, Scarpetta acts as the superior in the NY City's Office of the Chief Medical Examiner, and she is having a telephone conversation with her subordinate Dennis. Their familiarity and the common interest are expressed by Scarpetta with the pronoun *we*: "We get a case from the GW Bridge?" (SF 334) and "Do we have any thoughts of an ID?" (SF 334). Even though Scarpetta is asking for information from Dennis, she includes herself in the questions, which supports their common interest: the crime case. Nevertheless, the majority of the questions are speaker-oriented without any softeners (six of the total of 11 questions). Scarpetta's superiority is also supported by Dennis' last question: "You want me to call the police with the info?" (SF 340), which suggest that he follows the instructions that Scarpetta gives him. She is also the one who gives all the orders, the total 10 of them of which all are direct. She mostly uses imperatives. For example, when she orders Dennis to go to check a body's belongings: "Do me a favor [...] Go downstairs and check his pockets. Check anything that might have come in with him. Take a photo and upload it to me. Call me back while you're still with the body." (SF 334). She makes it clear what she wants Dennis to do.

In the sixth dialogue, Scarpetta has power because of her occupational status. She is the superior of a female worker Rene who also works at the NY City's Office of the Chief Medical Examiner. In this case, also, Scarpetta emphasizes their group consensus with the pronoun *we*: "What are we doing?" (SF 5), even though it is Rene who is preparing the body when Scarpetta enters the hall. Scarpetta asks only speaker-oriented questions,

whereas Rene's questions are all addressee-oriented. Rene also mixes personal and work topics, but Scarpetta responds only to work topics as in the following example where they are talking about the parents of a deceased:

“I know you've got a staff meeting in a few minutes. I'll take care of this.” She looked at the cardboard box Scarpetta was holding. “You didn't even eat yet. What have you had today? Probably nothing, as usual. How much weight have you lost? You're going to end up in the anthro lab, mistaken for a skeleton.”

[Rene]

“What were they arguing about in the lobby?” Scarpetta asked. (SF 6).

Scarpetta does not react to the personal comments but continues to ask questions about the fight of the parents of the deceased. They have divorced, which affects the release of the body. In addition to asking all the speaker-oriented questions, Scarpetta gives all the orders as well. In this case, however, she gives two direct and two indirect commands: “Well, you know how it works. [...] We'll put a hold on her release until Legal instructs us otherwise.” (SF 6–7) and “Maybe you can let Dr. Edison know I'm going to miss the three o'clock.” (SF 6–7). In the first example, Scarpetta again includes herself in the command because the legal directions apply to all the workers. In the second example, she uses indirectness because the task is something she could do herself. After Rene's agreement, however, she uses a direct order: “Tell him the scene photos have been uploaded to him, but I won't be able to dictate the autopsy protocol or get those photos to him until tomorrow.” (SF 7). When talking with subordinates from work, Scarpetta appears to use the competitive style more frequently.

In the seventh dialogue, Scarpetta is talking with Alex Bachta, the executive producer for CNN, who has an equal power status with Scarpetta. She has signed a written agreement with him about her appearances on the CNN, and they also call each other by their first names. The usage of the first names usually implies equality and a low level of formality (Pschaid 1993: 49). Because of the breach of the contract, however, Scarpetta holds the one-up position. According to the contract, she cannot be asked questions about open crime cases, nevertheless, she is done so by a CNN interviewer on live TV. Scarpetta uses six speaker-oriented questions and only one addressee-oriented question of the total of 12 questions. She also gives two direct commands. In this

dialogue, her performance of a subversive femininity is also emphasized. She is very upset because of the breach of the contract, which can be seen in her aggressive and abundant cursing. She does not sit down when asked to but only after she feels like it herself. She also turns down Bachta's suggestion of taking the place of the interviewer who broke the contract "We want you to take her place." (SF 150) by declining "I don't want a show." (SF 151). She feels she is being turned into something she is not, a reality TV star of some sort, which makes her even more upset but which she cannot show: "Which is what I sure as hell don't want to become" she said, trying not to sound as offended as she felt." (SF 151). She has to keep her defense up, and she also minimizes the personal offense with an occupational point of view: "You can't bring in experts who are actively working criminal cases and allow this sort of thing to happen." (SF 149). She uses language as a means to hide her actual feelings of offence and hurt because the breach of the contract has affected her personally as well: she is made to seem as untrustworthy professionally. All in all, Scarpetta uses the competitive style more frequently.

In the last dialogue, Scarpetta speaks with another medical examiner, Dr. Lester. However, Scarpetta has more power in the sense that she is called to take a look at a body whose autopsy Dr. Lester has already made. This gives Scarpetta more social prestige. Scarpetta also has special knowledge because of her years of experience with different causes of death. She also gains more power when she proves that Dr. Lester's suggestion for the cause of death is wrong:

(1) "I think it's possible that what we have here is a very rare false positive due to computer error." [Dr. Lester]

"You don't get false positives, not even very rarely", Scarpetta said. (S 256).

(2) "I would expedite everything you can. This isn't S-and-M gone bad. The reddish, dry deep furrows on her wrists indicate they were lashed together very tightly in a single loop with a binding that had sharp edges." [Scarpetta]

"The flex-cuff will be checked for DNA." [Dr. Lester]

"These marks weren't made by a flex-cuff," [...] "Flex-cuffs have rounded edges to prevent injury. I'm assuming you've already sent—" [Scarpetta]

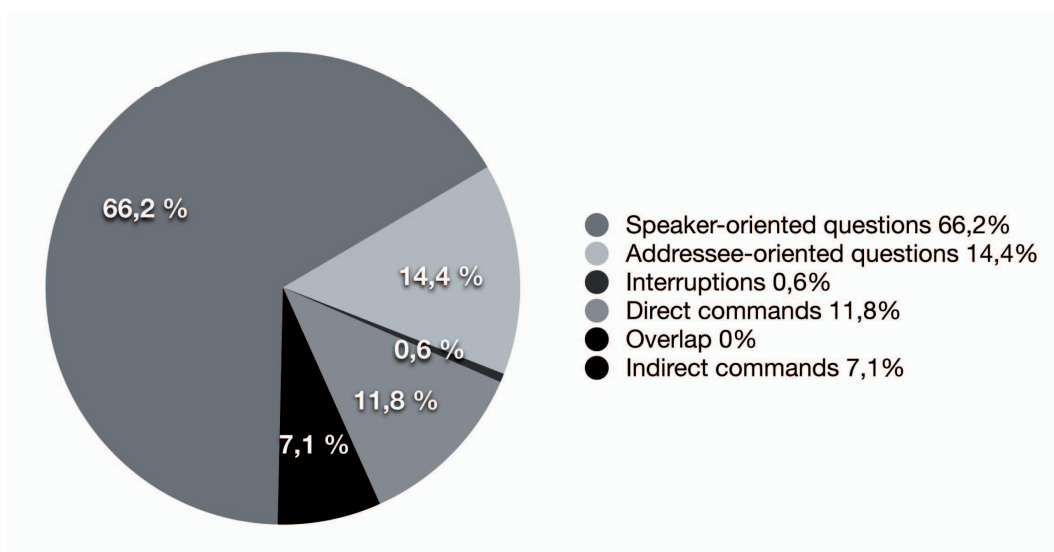
Dr. Lester cut her off. "Everything went to the labs." (S 267).

Scarpetta undermines Dr. Lester's expertise and knowledge in her profession, which makes her cut Scarpetta off so that she would get some of her lost power back. Their near equality professionally makes Scarpetta use some politeness strategies. She does not want to threaten Dr. Lester's face and starts with "I'm assuming [...]" few times, which suggest that since Dr. Lester is professional, she should obviously have done what is assumed. She, however, dismisses the effort soon because of Dr. Lester's combative attitude. Scarpetta asks 12 speaker-oriented questions about the results of the autopsy and only one addressee-oriented question. Also, at the end, instead of using "I'm assuming" she openly doubts Dr. Lester's proficiency: "Did you try the light source on the inside of her mouth? You did swab her rectum and her mouth?" (S 282). She mixes the co-operative and the competitive style to some extent. In addition to Dr. Lester, Scarpetta speaks with her colleague and husband Benton Wesley who is present in this same situation.<sup>4</sup> Their power relation is professionally equal in this situation. Scarpetta states two addressee-oriented questions when they are speculating what might have caused the injuries to the body. She also gives five indirect orders where she includes herself: "If you could go through the photographs [...] The ones from the scene. Let's look at a few things." (S 280) and "We need to go to the scene." (S 284). Wesley and Scarpetta are work colleagues who have a common interest thus, co-operation is important.

In the previous eight dialogues, Kay Scarpetta held a superior position in relation to the other participants. She had power because of her occupational status as a medical examiner and as a forensic investigator in a crime case, prestige, special knowledge and in one case, because of the topic of discussion. The divisions of the different speech features Scarpetta used in the eight dialogues are illustrated in Figure 2:

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<sup>4</sup> Compare example 8 (the divisions of the speech features by Scarpetta & Dr. Lester) with example 8.1 (the divisions of the speech features by Scarpetta and Benton Wesley) in appendix 1.



**Figure 2.** Speech Features of Kay Scarpetta in Unequal Power Situations

Based on these findings, it can be concluded that Kay Scarpetta used more of the competitive speech style in unequal situations. The divisions of the speech features and their number were as follows<sup>5</sup>: addressee-oriented questions 49 (= 14,4%) / speaker-oriented questions 225 (= 66,2%), overlaps 0 (=0%) / interruptions 2 (= 0,6%), and indirect commands 24 (= 7,1%) / direct commands 40 (= 11,8%). The majority of the speech features Scarpetta used were questions. Of the total of all the speech features 66,2% were speaker-oriented questions, which is in line with the claim that the speakers of the competitive style tend to ask more direct, information seeking questions in formal and public situations especially when the context has high status (Coates 2004: 94; Holmes 1995: 40). Secondly, of the total of all the speech features 11,8% were direct orders, which is line with the claim that in the competitive style explicit commands are used as the means of getting the other person to do what the person in control wants. (Coates 2004: 94–95, Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 32-33). Lastly, of the total of all the speech features 0,6% were interruptions, which is also in line with the hypothesis that in

<sup>5</sup> The divisions of the speech features and their number from each dialogue are presented separately in appendix 1 (examples 1–8).



the competitive style interruptions are used for gaining the floor and controlling the topic (Coates 2004: 113–116). The familiarity and the gender of the speakers did not seem to have any direct impact on the speech style of Scarpetta in formal situations, however, the sensitive nature of some situations and (near-)equality in power relations had an effect in that she used polite forms more frequently, which is more common for the co-operative speech style. In the next section, the speech style of Kay Scarpetta in situations of equal power relations is being analyzed further.

#### 4.2 “Can you tell me what she’s referring to in this message?”

In situations where the distances in power hierarchy decrease and the participants have a common interest, the need for politeness and the consideration for the views of others become more important. In the eight dialogues of equal power relations, Scarpetta is a work colleague in two situations, and in six situations, she is both a colleague and has a more personal relationship with the other participant/s or the topics of the discussion are a mixture of personal and work. In two situations, the power relationship changes in the middle of the dialogue from Scarpetta being an equal to her being the superior, because the topic of the discussion changes.

In the first dialogue, Scarpetta is working with a laboratory expert Mr. Geffner. They are equals because of their occupational status and special knowledge of their fields. Scarpetta asks five speaker-oriented and two addressee-oriented questions of the total of 16 questions. Even though Scarpetta asks more speaker-oriented questions, the context is different than in situations where she is, for example, questioning a witness. She asks questions from an expert and enquires about his professional knowledge of the animal fur that was found inside the parcel bomb she received. The co-operation can be seen even better in the number of commands. Scarpetta does not give any direct commands but two indirect ones. She uses the pronoun *we* which includes her in the command: “We should get the species of wolf indentified, make sure they’re the same, that the hairs in both cases are from Great Plains wolves.” (SF 448). This suggests their common interest. She also respects the need for negative politeness and uses over polite

forms by doubling the apology: “Excuse me [...] I’m sorry. I’m doing about twenty things at once. What about the devil?” (SF 444) and “Would you please repeat that?” (SF 447). When the power is equally divided, politeness is clearly visible. This supports the hypothesis that when the hierarchy decreases, politeness increases. This can be seen in the speech style of Mr. Geffner, too. He asks two speaker-oriented and seven addressee-oriented questions and gives one indirect order. In their interaction, they support each other and do not use FTAs.

In the second dialogue, Scarpetta is talking with Pete Marino whom she has known and worked with for several years. Their discussion consists of speculation and the opinions each has. Scarpetta asks one speaker-oriented question: “You still carry those little tactical lights that can blind people?” (S 365), and three addressee-oriented questions such as: “If that was his intention, why didn’t he do it? He could have forced her to dress any way he’d wanted.” (S 360). She is, in a way, thinking aloud and invites Marino to share his opinion. Marino also supports the speculation by asking only two speaker-oriented and six addressee-oriented questions. Furthermore, Scarpetta gives three indirect and only one direct one of the total of four commands. She again uses pronoun *we* and softens the command by the modal *can* like in this example where Scarpetta talks about a piece of evidence: “What we’re going to do is wrap it up, and it goes to La Guardia. Can you step out for a minute and tell Jaime we need an officer who can escort this chair to Lucy’s jet and be on that jet and receipt [sic] it to Dr. Kiselstein at the airport in Knoxville?” (S 365). There is only one exception to the polite and co-operative discussion style when Scarpetta violates Marino’s turn to speak by interrupting him:

“Maybe this is a Benton question, but if she was a neat freak—” [Marino]

“Not if.” [Scarpetta]

“In other words, she was uptight. Everything had to be exactly right. So does it make sense for someone like that to have this wild side?” [Marino] (S 362).

Scarpetta interrupts Marino and corrects his assumption. She pushes her opinion through, but does not want to hold the floor after that. There is no topic change either,

and Marino can continue his turn and speculation and so the co-operative style is picked up again.

In the third dialogue, Scarpetta is talking on the phone with her niece and work colleague Lucy Farinelli. They are equals occupationally and because they work for the same cause; they have a common interest. Scarpetta is asking Farinelli about her progress in finding information about a mysterious watch that a murder victim wore. She asks two speaker-oriented questions, for example, “What do you mean it [the watch] doesn’t exist?” (SF 10) and two addressee-oriented questions, while Farinelli asks one addressee-oriented and two speaker-oriented questions. The division of the questions is thus almost even by both of the interlocutors. Scarpetta also includes herself in Farinelli’s search of the watch when asking: “How are we doing?” (SF 10). This emphasizes the common interest they have. In addition to questions, Scarpetta gives one direct and three indirect commands, while Farinelli gives one direct command. Scarpetta, however, uses the softener *please* in two cases and in one case, she mixes direct and indirect commands: “Call me before you leave, and please be careful.” (SF 12). There are no interruptions or overlaps in their conversation.

In the fourth dialogue, Scarpetta is again talking with her work colleague Pete Marino. Their conversation topics are a mixture of personal and work, and they are mainly talking about her niece and his work colleague Lucy Farinelli, but also about Scarpetta’s stolen Blackberry. Scarpetta asks two speaker-oriented questions, for example, “You heard of them [the FBI]?” (SF 313) and six addressee-oriented questions. For example, when she asks Marino’s opinion about what he would do if he caught his girlfriend spying on him: “Would you let it go?” (SF 319). In a few cases, she does not even expect an answer but she is rather thinking aloud and expressing her opinion. In the example below, the topic is Farinelli’s lack of trust and her jealous nature:

“When one person works all the time, sometimes the other person can get a little out of whack. You know, act different [...] I got the same problem with Bacardi [his girlfriend] at the moment.” [Marino]

“Are you tracking her with a WAAS-enabled GPS receiver you built into a smartphone that was a present?” Scarpetta said bitterly. (SF 318).

Scarpetta does not expect an answer to the question. She is stating her disapproval of Farinelli's actions and her worries about Farinelli's unhealthy jealousy. The question acts more like a bitter comment than a question that assumes a reply. In this dialogue, Marino asks notably more questions than Scarpetta, however, only five of them are speaker-oriented, for example, "Where's Benton?" (SF 311) and 15 of them are addressee-oriented. For example, when he and Scarpetta are talking about her stole Blackberry: "What I'm saying is she [Farinelli] probably could check and know about your password, right? She could know you quit using one, right? I'm sure she checks stuff like that, right?" (SF 317). He is seeking her consensus and opinion. Based on the question types the emphasis is on co-operation. With commands, there are no indirect commands but one direct one uttered by Scarpetta and two by Marino. The mitigating factor is, however, that the topics of two of the commands are personal. The first command is by Marino: "Be careful of your coat." (SF 311) and the second by Scarpetta: "Fasten your seat belt." (SF 312). The purpose is more of a personal type in that the commands show concern about the other person and thus, are concerned about the others' positive face (Brown & Levinson 1994: 98). There are no interruptions or overlaps in the dialogue.

The fifth dialogue is between Scarpetta and Jaime Berger in a crime scene where Scarpetta is examining a body. They are equals because of their occupational status and they work for the same cause. Scarpetta asks seven speaker-oriented and one addressee-oriented question, while Berger asks one speaker-oriented and three addressee-oriented questions. Scarpetta asks questions about the case and background information about the body. In two of the speaker-oriented questions, she includes herself in: "Cooling delays its onset, and we know she called nine-one-one at what time, exactly?" (S 409) and "Do we know if there might be any personal connection between Jake Loudin and Terri Bridges?" (S 409). Once again, she talks in the plural, which supports co-operation. Also, Berger's addressee-oriented questions support this as she asks Scarpetta's opinions about what might have happened: "Do you think she was already dead when he hung her from the chain?" (S 407). They are both revealing the information they have, and thus, they are equals in power. Scarpetta gives all the orders;

one direct command and three indirect ones. For example, instead of saying: “I want to hear the tape” she uses indirectness to soften the command: “I’d like to hear the tape.” (S 409). She has the right to listen to the tape and no need to use a direct command. By being indirect, Scarpetta also protects the negative face needs of Berger.

In the sixth dialogue, Scarpetta is talking on the phone with her husband and a work colleague Benton Wesley. The discussion is about sharing a ride, about work and about where to spend Christmas. Scarpetta uses two speaker-oriented and three addressee-oriented questions, while Wesley uses one speaker-oriented and five addressee-oriented questions. The emphasis is on each other’s thoughts and opinions. The following example illustrates their co-operative style:

“You’re still there,” [Scarpetta] said. “Want to share a cab?”  
 “You trying to pick me up?” [Benton Wesley]  
 “Rumor has it you are pretty easy. I need about an hour, need to talk with Dr. Edison first. What’s it look like for you?” [Scarpetta]  
 “An hour should work.” He sounded subdued. “I need to have a conference with my chief, too.” [Benton Wesley]  
 “You ok?” [Scarpetta] (SF 52).

Their conversation is a mixture of personal jokes, business and each other’s opinions and feelings. Scarpetta asks Wesley’s opinion about sharing a cab, and they have a playful exchange of words. Scarpetta changes the topic to work and makes it clear that Wesley has to wait at least an hour before she is able to leave, to which he responds that he has to speak with his boss, as well, but that the hour should do. Scarpetta is then making sure that Wesley is ok, because he sounds different than he usually does. Their change of thoughts is mostly equally structured. Wesley, however, is the one who uses most of the commands. He uses three direct and three indirect commands, while Scarpetta uses only one from both types: “I need about an hour, need to talk with Dr. Edison first” (SF 52) and “Let’s do some lights.” (SF 53). Wesley is also the one who changes the topics by giving commands. For example, he first turns the topic from work to holidays: “At some point we need to talk about when we’re going home.” (SF 53). Later on he changes the topic to work again but when Scarpetta starts asking questions he cannot answer, he ends the phone call: “We don’t need to discuss it [...] Call me

when you're ready to leave and I'll meet you out front." (SF 55). Benton Wesley thus controls most of the topics in this discussion even though they are equals. There are no interruptions and overlaps. Wesley uses the competitive style, while Scarpetta mixes the competitive and the co-operative styles.

In the last two dialogues, the power relation changes during the discussion. In the first situation, Scarpetta is talking with Benton Wesley. At the beginning of the discussion, they are talking about an open case, hence, they are equals because of their occupational status. Scarpetta asks 23 speaker-oriented questions, for example, "What did he [Oscar Bane] tell the police while he was still inside the apartment?" (S 188) and 13 addressee-oriented questions, for example, "And he [Oscar Bane] knew she was dead, yet waited to call the police. Because? What was his reason, in your opinion?" (S 189). Scarpetta is collecting background information about the case that Wesley is already familiar with and there is, thus, less speculation, which explains the bigger difference in the number of questions. He asks only three speaker-oriented and 10 addressee-oriented questions. He asks Scarpetta's opinions because she has just examined the patient who is a possible murder suspect. Both give an equal number of commands of which Scarpetta gives four indirect ones. For example, "Maybe you'd better start telling me." (S 193). Wesley gives three direct, for example, "Take a look" (S 171) and one indirect command. Even though she asks more speaker-oriented questions, her style can be seen as co-operative; she shares her opinions and knowledge after she has gotten all the necessary information to form the overall picture of the case. Furthermore, the number of indirect commands supports this since they are more common in the co-operative style. There were no overlaps and one interruption that was made by Wesley.

Although Scarpetta and Wesley are equals, the power structure changes in the middle of their conversation.<sup>6</sup> This change happens because of the change of the topic. Wesley has not shared some personal information that involves him and Scarpetta, and which has now come up. Scarpetta holds the one-up position because he needs her to forgive him. She asks 17 speaker-oriented and 11 addressee-oriented questions, while Wesley asks

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<sup>6</sup> Compare example 15 (equal power relation) with example 15.1 (unequal power relation) in appendix 2.

10 speaker-oriented and eight addressee-oriented questions. In the example below, Wesley has finished a phone call with Scarpetta's niece Lucy Farinelli. The way Scarpetta uses questions is illustrated below:

“What the hell was that about? [...] What was Lucy saying? What are you sorry about, and who has nowhere else to turn?” [Scarpetta]

“Sometimes she has no sense of time and place, and what I don't need right now is one of her rages.” [Wesley]

“Rage? over what?” [Scarpetta]

“You know how she gets.” [Wesley]

“Usually when she has a good reason to get that way.” [Scarpetta]

“We can't get into it now.” [Wesley]

“How the hell am I supposed to concentrate after overhearing a conversation like that? Get into what?” [Scarpetta]

“*Gotham Gotcha*,” he said, to her surprise and annoyance. (S 172).

Scarpetta asks questions until she gets an answer. She also curses which is a sign that she is upset and that she is not going to let the topic go. She uses questions as a way of ignoring his apologies. She gives one direct command: “Don't keep anything from me.” (S 178), which makes him reveal the rest of the story he has been hiding.

The last dialogue takes place between Scarpetta and Lucy Farinelli, her niece and work colleague, when they are investigating a possible crime scene. Their power relation changes during the conversation from being colleagues to being family members. Scarpetta acts as a mother-figure for Farinelli and has decided to make her talk about her anger issues, therefore, Scarpetta holds the higher power position. However, she holds the superior position only till she gets Farinelli to talk, after which they become equals again. Scarpetta asks 14 speaker-oriented and 21 addressee-oriented questions when she holds an equal position with Farinelli. She asks information seeking questions about the case and background information about Farinelli's personal life in order to understand her situation better. For example, “So, what exactly did Hannah [a woman who con Farinelli out of a lot of money] do that was so terrible?” (SF 385). Her addressee-oriented questions concern the case and she is rather thinking aloud than asking for information. For example, when she is speculating about the motives of two crime suspects: “Why would she spend that kind of money? Why not put him

somewhere else, rent him something infinitely less expensive?” (SF 367). The questions also concern personal matters and Farinelli’s feelings. For example, when Scarpetta asks Farinelli about her girlfriend Jaime Berger: “If I talked to Jaime, what do you think she’d tell me about you?” (SF 381). These examples illustrate how speaker-oriented and addressee-oriented questions function in a professional and personal context. Lastly, Scarpetta uses one indirect command: “We need to go [...] The DNA Building. Now.” (SF 391) where she includes herself in the command. The division of questions and commands between Scarpetta and Farinelli is fairly equal.

The power relation changes when Scarpetta starts asking personal questions Farinelli does not want to answer. She combines questions and commands to make Farinelli talk.<sup>7</sup> She uses 27 speaker-oriented questions, 14 addressee-oriented questions, five direct commands and three indirect commands, while Farinelli uses only three speaker-oriented and one addressee-oriented questions and none commands. In the following example, Scarpetta uses questions as a means to get Farinelli talk:

“You do a fine job misreading for someone who quotes poetry so well.”  
 [Scarpetta]  
 Lucy didn’t answer.  
 “What have you misread this time?” [Scarpetta]  
 [...] For a moment the two of them were silent [...]  
 “[...] Are you formatting your relationship with Jaime and in the process of completely dismantling it, and have you asked her if it’s merited?” [Scarpetta]  
 [the description of what Scarpetta is doing is omitted]  
 “What has Jaime done that you’ve possibly misread?” [Scarpetta]  
 [the description of what Scarpetta is doing is omitted]  
 “What might you have misread?” [Scarpetta]  
 “It’s not easy to talk about.” [Farinelli] (SF 371–372).

Scarpetta is asking questions until she gets an answer. She uses this strategy altogether three times until she finally gets Farinelli to talk and to give more than one answer at once. In this situation, addressee-oriented questions are powerful, as well, because they are more concerned with the other person’s feelings and thoughts which is exactly the topic of this discussion: Farinelli’s life and feelings. Scarpetta also uses commands to

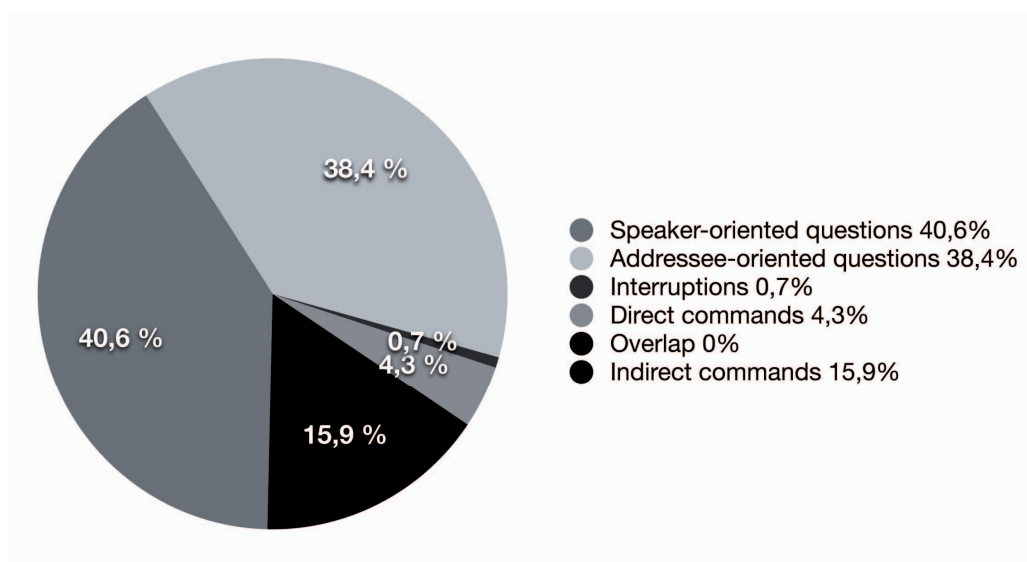
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<sup>7</sup> Compare example 16 (equal power relation) with example 16.1 (unequal power relation) in appendix 2.



pressure Farinelli to answer: “Don’t try to dodge me, please.” (SF 369) and “Talk to me, Lucy, and tell me exactly what’s wrong. Tell me in the language of flesh and blood, in the language of feelings. Do you think Jaime doesn’t love you anymore?” (SF 373). She gives both direct and indirect commands. Overall, she mixes both styles in order to make Farinelli talk, however, the majority of questions are speaker-oriented and the commands are direct, which makes the overall style competitive.

The divisions of the different speech features Scarpetta used in the eight dialogues are illustrated in Figure 3:



**Figure 3.** Speech Features of Kay Scarpetta in Equal Power Situations

Based on these results, the differences between the competitive and the co-operative way to use the speech features was not as notable as it was in unequal situations. However, there was a clear difference in commands<sup>8</sup>: from all the commands Scarpetta uses the division is 6 (= 4,3%) direct commands and 22 (= 15,9%) indirect ones. Since

<sup>8</sup> The divisions of the speech features from each dialogue are presented separately in appendix 2 (examples 9–16).

15,9% of the total of speech features were indirect commands, the finding is in line with the co-operative style: the participants are equals in decision-making and indirect orders are seen as propositions where the person giving commands includes him/herself in the proposed action (Coates 2004: 94–96). Although, there were more speaker-oriented questions, the difference in their number was only three ( $53 = 38,4\%$  /  $56 = 40,6\%$ ). The larger number of speaker-oriented questions can partly be explained by the situation: Scarpetta had to get the background information about the cases. In these situations, there were always speculations by every interlocutor and thus, more addressee-oriented questions than in situations of unequal power relations. In unequal situations, there were rarely any joint speculations between the interlocutors. Thus, the style Scarpetta used in equal power situations is closer to the co-operative style. The familiarity and the gender of the speakers did not seem to have any direct impact on the speech style of Scarpetta in formal situations. She used polite forms whoever she was talking to. Furthermore, when the interlocutors already knew each other the division of possible direct commands, for example, was more even which supports the equality of the participants. Both used FTAs equally. Based on the results of the 16 dialogues, Kay Scarpetta did in fact use more of the competitive style in unequal situations and more of the co-operative style in equal situations, which supports the findings of authentic studies by Coates.

#### 4.3 “Jump back earlier to last fall, last summer or spring.”

For the analysis of Jaime Berger’s speech style altogether eight dialogues from *Scarpetta* (2008) and *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009) were chosen where she holds a superior position. In seven cases, Berger holds power because of her occupational status and in one case, because of her age. In the last dialogue, the power relation changes from unequal to equal. Berger first has more power because she is in charge of the investigation and has not received all the information that is relevant to the case, however, after all the interlocutors have the same information, the power relation becomes equal. The number of the possible questions, interruptions and commands were added to the total number of these features under the category of equal power relations.

Jaime Berger has power mainly because of her occupational status. She is the head of the Sex Crime Unit and in charge of the prosecution. In the first dialogue, Jaime Berger is talking with an unfamiliar female witness named Nastya. Of the total of nine questions, Berger asks four speaker-oriented and none addressee-oriented questions, whereas the witness asks five addressee-oriented questions. Berger keeps herself emotionally distant from the situation and ignores the invitation by the witness to join the discussion about a CNN interviewer Carley Crispin:

“It’s all the more terrible she talks about Hannah [a missing person] the way she does. [...] Night after night. How do you do that when it’s someone you’ve met?”  
[the witness, Nastya]

“Do you have any idea the last time Carley was here?” [Jaime Berger] (SF 457).

Berger makes only professional comments, which makes her seem emotionally distant especially because the witness is a woman (see McElhinny 1995: 222-238). The gender of the interlocutor does not affect the speech style of Berger. Furthermore, she gives one direct command: “Remind me again about your situation here [...] You have an apartment on which floor?” (SF 455). She gives an order to answer and specifies it by asking a question which seeks information. Berger uses only speaker-oriented questions and a direct command, which makes her speech style competitive in this situation.

In the second dialogue, Berger is questioning a possible crime suspect who is an unfamiliar male named Hap Judd. She has the power because of her occupational status. Berger asks the majority of questions: 47 speaker-oriented and 12 addressee-oriented of the total of 90 questions. She uses questions to get direct information, for example, “How did you first meet Hannah [a missing person]?” (SF 296) and as a means of prompting the conversation:

“Where was the other glove, Hap? In the video we just showed you, you had on two gloves. We can show you other video footage of you going inside the refrigerator and staying in it for almost fifteen minutes with the door open wide. What were you doing in there? Why’d you take off one of your gloves? Did you use it for something, maybe put it over some other part of your body? Maybe put it on your penis?” [Jaime Berger]

“No,” he said, shaking his head. [Hap Judd]

“You want to tell it to a jury? You want a jury of your peers to hear all this?”  
[Jaime Berger] (SF 294).

She prompts the suspect to get him to talk about another topic of which she needs information. This makes him to co-operate and Berger steers the conversation to the topic she chooses: “Let’s back up three weeks, to when I called your agent.” (SF 295). In this situation, addressee-oriented questions can be seen very powerful in leading the conversation because when formed in a specific way they, too, demand a specific answer. For example, “Isn’t it true that you had a reputation for being a skilled phlebotomist?” (SF 289). The question seeks consensus, which confirms the speaker’s point even though it would act against the respondent. ‘The common sense’ hierarchy structure also applies in the situation, Berger does not have to answer the suspect’s questions: “Maybe I’ll answer your questions when you answer mine [...] Tell me the history of how you know her.” (SF 255). Berger uses questions to steer the conversation, and she also uses commands as a way of controlling the topics of the conversation. She utters eight direct commands, for example, “Tell me about Dodie Hodge [a possible suspect that Judd knows]” (SF 255) and four indirect commands. All of the indirect commands are of the form *let’s* and used in directing the conversation topic, for example, “Let’s talk some more about Eric [a witness]” (SF 281). Lastly, Berger gets interrupted once when she again prompts the conversation. In the following example, she is asking questions about a missing person, Hannah Starr, which makes the witness nervous:

“And you didn’t suspect for even a second that I might be calling about her? [...]

You know she’s disappeared, correct?” [Berger]

“Of course.” [Hap Judd]

“And it didn’t occur—” [Berger]

“Okay. Yeah. But I didn’t want to talk about her for privacy reasons. [...] It would have been unfair to her, and I don’t see what it has to do with what happened to her.” [Hap Judd]

“You know what happened to her,” Berger said, as if he did. (SF 295–296).

The interruption does not affect her speech or silence her, but she continues with the topic and turns Judd’s words against him. Berger mixes both speech styles in this example but still the competitive style more frequently. In this context, however, the

indirect commands and addressee-oriented questions of the co-operative style act as a powerful means of leading the conversation.

In the third dialogue, Berger is speaking on the phone with Pete Marino who works for her as a detective. She does not say much in this dialogue, but it is clear that she is the superior from the way she uses language: “Marino always knew when Berger took somebody seriously. She didn’t interrupt or change the topic of conversation. He kept talking because she kept listening [...]” (S 228). She asks only two speaker-oriented questions, for example, “Where are you and what are you doing?” (S 227) and no addressee-oriented questions at all. Berger gives two indirect commands and four direct ones. She is first ordering indirectly that is softening the FTA: “If you happen to talk to him [another detective], you might mention I’ve left three messages. I won’t leave a fourth. Maybe you can take care of my problem. Eighteen passwords so far.” (S 227). She assumes that Marino will take care of the problem even though she does not give a direct order. At the end of the conversation, it is clear that she has given an order to Marino when she used a direct command: “What I want right now is for you to get me the passwords and account histories associated with the usernames I’m about to give you.” (S 229). Furthermore, it is Marino who needs Berger’s approval and who has to use more polite forms:

“I’ll e-mail some stuff to you. [...] And Benton should get it.” [Pete Marino]

Silence.

“If that’s all right with you, I’ll e-mail what I’ve got to him, too.” [Pete Marino]

“Of course.” [Jaime Berger]

“You don’t mind me saying it, nobody’s talking to each other. An example of what I mean? You got any idea if the cops looked upstairs in Terri’s building last night? Like maybe checked the roof access and the ladder in the utility closet?” [Pete Marino] (S 227).

Since Berger is Marino’s superior, he has to concern her face needs and avoid FTAs. When he gives a direct opinion about Benton Wesley, she does not react until after Marino asks permission to send the material to him. He continues with a question that shows concern for the needs of her negative face. Moreover, he needs Berger’s consent to his indirect commands, for example, “It would be helpful if all of us got together”.

Which Berger approves by “That’s fine.” (S 229). Overall, Jaime Berger does not say much in this example, but when she does, she uses the forms of the competitive style more frequently.

In the fourth dialogue, Berger is talking with Lucy Farinelli who is her colleague and lover. The topics are a mixture of personal and work, but Berger still has the power because of her occupational status as the chief of the investigation, and because of her age. Of the total of 13 questions, Berger asks five speaker-oriented and two addressee-oriented questions. Four of the speaker-oriented questions and one addressee-oriented question are about work, while the last two of the questions concern a personal topic. She is the one who steers the conversation from personal back to work: “I’m assuming Marino’s on his way to your loft?” (SF 231). She controls the topics. Berger also gives two direct commands, for example, “Slow down” (SF 230) and one indirect command: “Let’s don’t blame the victim.” (SF 230) of the total of four commands. Berger uses the competitive style more even though she is speaking to a familiar female; the gender of the addressee does not seem to have an effect on Berger’s style.

In the fifth dialogue, Jaime is talking with Pete Marino and Lucy Farinelli. She has the power because of her occupational status. She uses six speaker-oriented and none addressee-oriented question of the total of 13 questions. All the questions are related to work, for example, “What’s the Terri connection in all this?” (S 380) and “Sent by?” (S 380). She also gives all the commands; two direct and two indirect ones. The direct commands are both related to work: “And you won’t.” (S 379) and “And you’re not going to do that.” (S 380) when she is forbidding Farinelli to hack into a suspect’s e-mail. The indirect commands that she gives are not work related and given at the beginning of the dialogue when she includes herself in the orders: “We’d better get our coats” (S 376) and “Why won’t we get out of the cold and sit in the car.” (S 376). The context might have an effect on that she uses indirectness in commands; she wants to get out of the cold as well. The familiarity and the gender of the addressees do not seem to have an effect on her style. She mostly uses the competitive style.

In the sixth dialogue, Berger is having a group discussion with four other members who all have special knowledge of some field. Berger, however, has the most power because she has called the meeting up and she has important information that no one else in the group knows yet. She asks 17 speaker-oriented and 10 addressee-oriented questions of the total of 58 questions, which means that she asks most of the questions per person in the group.<sup>9</sup> She is collecting different kind of information from the members of the group who are all experts in their field, for example, “Did you ask him directly if he’d ever dated her or thought about it? [...] Or did he volunteer it?” (SF 100) and “Signs of sexual assault on autopsy?” (SF 101). She is asking information about the autopsy and interrogation without revealing the information that she has. She is also interested in the other’s opinions, for example, “In your opinion, was she sexually assaulted in the park, or perhaps in a vehicle and then moved and displayed as Benton has described?” (SF 113). Even though she mostly uses addressee-oriented questions co-operatively, she sometimes uses them when she doubts someone else’s account:

“Kay, you started to tell us you might have a different opinion about her time of death, different from what’s implied by these video clips, for example.” [Jaime Berger]

“My opinion is that she wasn’t alive last night.” [Kay Scarpetta]

“Kay? Just so we’re clear? Now that you’ve seen the video clips? You still of the same opinion?” [Jaime Berger] (SF 103).

Even though Berger seeks consensus and makes sure she and Scarpetta understand each other, she still doubts her opinion. In this case, the addressee-oriented questions do not emphasize co-operation. Furthermore, Berger uses her power and gives the turns to speak. She returns to the topic that Scarpetta already brought out earlier but which Berger ignored by: “Let’s focus on what RTCC found first [...] Then we’ll get to the autopsy results.” (SF 97). Berger gives only one direct command and 16 indirect ones of the total of 22 commands. She gives most of the commands per person in the group. She controls the turns of the speaker’s and the topics of the conversation but she still includes herself in all the commands, except one, by using *let’s* and the pronoun *we*. For example:

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<sup>9</sup> Compare example 22 (unequal power relation) in appendix 3 with example 29 (equal power relation) in appendix 4.

“The file called *Recording one*, we’ll start with that. I’ve already looked at it, and also the second file, and what I’ve seen corroborates information received several hours ago that we’ll discuss in more detail in a few minutes. You should be able to download the video and open it. So let’s do that now.” (SF 95).

Berger decides the order of the topics. Even though she has already watched the video files, she still includes herself in the order. Since everyone has the same interest, it seems that the softening of the orders is more effective in this situation. Overall, Berger mixes the competitive and the co-operative styles. She asks more speaker-oriented questions, however, sometimes she uses addressee-oriented questions in a way that is not co-operative. In commands, she uses more indirect than direct ones. This example dialogue supports the idea that the situation and the topics have always an effect on a person’s speech style: even though Berger is in charge through the whole conversation, the topic of the discussion requires co-operation.

In the seventh dialogue, Berger is talking with Lucy Farinelli. The topic is personal and involves their relationship. Age is not an issue when they interact in work situations, and it has not been an issue in their relationship either until now when Farinelli points it out. She thinks that the different generation aspect has now come out, and that Berger is controlling and judging her. In this sense, Berger has the most power. She does not ask any questions but gives four direct orders. She is patronizing Farinelli when she tries to make her calm down as they are waiting a landing permit for their helicopter. Farinelli is upset because the tower does not give them permission to land and they have to wait. She feels that it is personal. Berger does not comment or take part in her fury but gives direct orders, such as “Let it go. Not worth it.” (SF 213) and “Don’t get worked up” (SF 215). She acts like a parent figure for Farinelli, who tells her how to behave. She does not make any effort to understand Farinelli’s behavior. In this sense, she makes herself emotionally distant as if in a work situation. She uses only the competitive style.

In the last dialogue, the power relation changes from unequal to equal. Berger is talking with a respected forensic psychologist Benton Wesley. Even though she is the head of the investigation, they have equal power positions because Berger needs Wesley’s help



and expertise in the case. Also, they both have power because of social prestige. Berger, however, has higher power status when the topic of their conversation is not the crime case but personal information that Wesley has not shared with her and which has an effect on the crime case. The example below illustrates the beginning of their conversation and Berger's way of controlling it by questions, interruptions and commands. Here, Wesley thinks that Scarpetta calls him back because the call was disconnected earlier:

“What happened?” [Benton Wesley]

“I was about to ask you that.” [Jaime Berger]

“I'm sorry. I thought you were Kay. She's having some problem—“ [Wesley]

“I'd say. Nice of you to mention it when we spoke earlier. Let's see. That would have been six, seven hours ago? Why didn't you say something?” [Berger]

“It's complicated.” [Wesley]

“I'm sure it is. We have a number of complications to deal with. I'm two minutes from the hospital. Meet me in the cafeteria.” [Berger] (S 27–28).

Berger interrupts Wesley and does not give him a chance to explain and finish his turn. Instead, she steers the conversation by asking a speaker-oriented question which Wesley has to respond. His answer, however, does not reveal any information yet. She approves this answer at this point because she is on her way to see him and can then talk with him more thoroughly. She does not give him an option to choose whether he wants to see her or not. She even announces where and when the meeting takes place. Overall, when Berger has the power position, she uses 11 speaker-oriented, for example, “Have you told her?” (S 105), and 13 addressee-oriented questions, for example, “And that's still a good idea? Getting her involved?” (S 110) of the total of 29 questions. She uses questions as a way of prompting the topic from work to the personal hidden information, for example, “I've been meaning to ask [...] If Kay's Lucy's aunt, does that make you Lucy's uncle? Or are you a de facto uncle? Does she call you uncle Benton?” (S 104). She is pressing Benton to bring up the topic he has been hiding, and which Berger has found out. She also interrupts Wesley five times when she disagrees with him and overlaps him once when she finishes his turn. Only one interruption changes the topic. When the conversation concerns Berger, she cuts him off and emphasizes the interruption by giving an indirect command: “Let's don't talk about

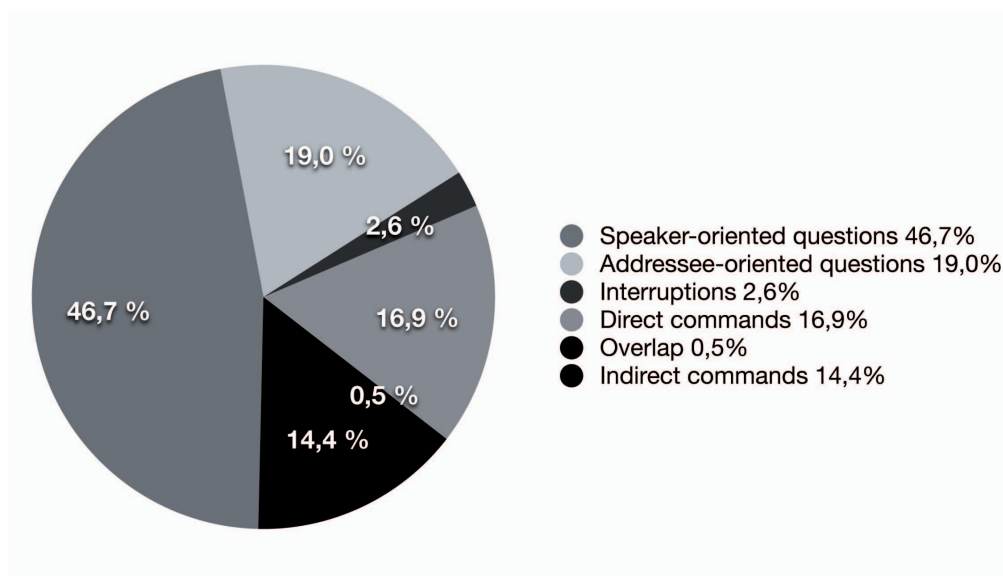
what I could have done.” (S 111). All in all, Berger gives eight direct commands, for example, “You have to talk to her” (S 117) and “What you will do is move forward” (S 118) and two indirect ones of the total of 13 commands. She uses the competitive style more frequently.

In contrast to the unequal power situation caused by a personal topic, the power relation changes into equal when the topic is about work.<sup>10</sup> Berger asks six speaker-oriented and 18 addressee-oriented questions of the total of 45 questions. The majority of the addressee-oriented questions ask Wesley’s opinion. She also softens some questions, for example, “I’m sure I don’t need to ask, but she [Scarpetta] has no history with Oscar Bane?” (S 88). She apologizes the FTA towards the negative face of Wesley (Brown & Levinson 1994: 188). Furthermore, she does not give any commands or interrupts. This supports the authentic sociolinguistic findings that when the power relation is equal, the concern for other’s face needs becomes more important, hence, the co-operative style is more commonly used.

In the previous eight dialogues, Jaime Berger held a superior position in relation to the other participants. She held power because of her occupational status (she is the head of the Sex Crime Unit and in charge of the prosecutions), prestige, special knowledge and in one case, because of the topic of the discussion. The divisions of the different speech features Berger used in the eight dialogues are illustrated in Figure 4:

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<sup>10</sup> Compare example 24 (unequal power relation) with example 24.1 (equal power relation) in appendix 3.



**Figure 4.** Speech Features of Jaime Berger in Unequal Power Situations

Based on these findings, Jaime Berger tended to use more of the competitive speech style in unequal situations. The division of the speech features and their numbers were as follows: addressee-oriented questions 37 (= 19,0%) / speaker-oriented questions 91 (= 46,7%), overlaps 1 (= 0,5%) / interruptions 5 (= 2,6%), and indirect commands 28 (= 14,4%) / direct commands 33 (= 16,9%).<sup>11</sup> The majority of the speech features she used were questions. Of the total of all the speech features 46,7% were speaker-oriented questions, which is in line with the claim that the speakers who use the competitive style tend to ask more direct, information seeking questions in formal and public situations especially when the context has high status (Coates 2004: 94; Holmes 1995: 40). In some contexts, however, the addressee-oriented questions did not serve the cooperative goal either, but were used to prompt the conversation and thus, also a powerful way of controlling the topics. Secondly, 16,9% of the total speech features were direct orders, which is in line with the suggestion that in the competitive speech style explicit commands are used as a means of getting the other person to do as the speaker wishes (Coates 2004: 94–95; Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 32-33). The difference between direct and indirect commands, however, was not large, which suggests that indirect orders can be effective as well, especially when directing the conversation

<sup>11</sup> The divisions of the speech features from each dialogue are presented separately in appendix 3 (examples 17–24).

topics. For example, “Let’s start with work, with High Roller Lanes.” (SF 104). Berger used this form when speaking with unfamiliar and familiar interlocutors, familiarity did not affect the usage of *let’s*. Thirdly, of the total of all the speech features, 2,6% were interruptions, which is in line with the claim that in the competitive style interruptions are used in gaining the floor and controlling the topic (Coates 2004: 113–116). Lastly, the familiarity and the gender of the speakers did not have any direct impact on the speech style of Berger. All in all, in the majority of the dialogues of unequal power situations, she used the competitive style regardless of whom she was speaking to which supports the findings of authentic studies by Jennifer Coates (2004).

#### 4.4 “Let’s start with mid-December and work our way up to the most recent ones”

The previous eight dialogues showed that Jaime Berger mostly used the competitive speech style in situations where the power relation was unequal. The next eight dialogues introduce situations where the power relation is equal between her and the other parties in the interaction. Berger is a work colleague in all of these situations, but in two of them, the topics are a mixture of personal and work. There are only two cases where she does not know all the interlocutors, so in most cases, the participants already know each other. Moreover, in one situation, the power relationship changes at the end of the dialogue from equal to unequal because of the topic of the discussion.

Three out of eight dialogues take place between Jaime Berger and Kay Scarpetta. They are equals because of their social prestige, occupational status and age, although, in working situations, the factor of age does not generally have an effect on the power relation. All three dialogues are work-related. In the first dialogue, they are speaking on the phone. Scarpetta has just examined a murder suspect, a task that she was summoned to do at a short notice. Berger uses forms that concern Scarpetta’s positive face needs, for example, “Thanks for doing this” (S 169). She also asks all the questions, although, there are only two of them. Both of them are addressee-oriented, such as “Do you think he will stay put?” (S 169), and which seek Scarpetta’s opinion. The co-operative style continues when Berger makes an indirect command in the form of a question: “Would

you mind looking at Terri Bridge's body tonight?" (S 170). She, however, continues by "Benton can fill you in. Dr. Lester should be on her way in from New Jersey. Sorry to subject you to something so unpleasant, and I don't mean the morgue." (S 170). She softens the command, but she does not give Scarpetta any choice since Dr. Lester is already on her way to the morgue, and Benton Wesley has the necessary information to fill her in. Because Berger has equal power status with Scarpetta, she has to minimize the FTA and soften the direct command. Scarpetta supports this style by giving an indirect order as well: "All I can comfortably tell you [...] is if you can get his DNA analyzed quickly, that would be a good thing." (S 169). All in all, Berger uses the co-operative style more frequently.

The second dialogue between Berger and Scarpetta also takes place on the phone. Scarpetta has found some evidence from a murder victim's body, and she wants to go to the crime scene. Of the total of eight questions, two are speaker-oriented, such as "What do you mean 'where he is'?" (S 288), and four are addressee-oriented questions. Of which, one seeks opinion, two seek consensus and the last one refers to feelings when Berger asks Scarpetta: "How would you feel if that someone is Pete Marino?" (S 287). Scarpetta has not seen Marino in a couple of years after the rapport between them got impaired because of personal issues. Now she has to confront him and work with him because he works for Jaime Berger. In commands, Berger gives one direct order: "Tell me more about the chair [...] Why you think it's so important?" (S 286). Even though the command is direct, it is somewhat softened by the addressee-oriented question which seeks Scarpetta's professional opinion. The co-operative style is supported by Scarpetta when she gives three indirect commands, such as "If someone could meet us [her and Benton Wesley] in front of the hospital." (S 287). They both avoid making any FTAs, which supports the hypothesis that when the right to give orders decreases, the need for politeness increases.

The third dialogue is the last one that takes place between Berger and Scarpetta on the phone. Berger has discovered some new information about a murder case. She calls Scarpetta and asks her to come over to her apartment. Berger asks one of both types of questions. The speaker-oriented question requests information about the autopsy of

Terri Bridge's body: "But you didn't see anything like that in Terri's x-rays?" (S 446), whereas the addressee-oriented question seeks Scarpetta's opinion if she thought Oscar Bane, the victim's boyfriend, would have allowed someone to place a tracking device under his skin: "When you talked to Oscar, did you get any idea that might lead you to believe he'd ever, for any reason, allow something like that?" (S 445). Scarpetta asks only one addressee-oriented question. Berger also gives one of both types of commands. The direct one states: "You need to listen" (S 446), whereas the indirect one is softened: "Maybe you and Benton should just come over here." (S 444). Scarpetta gives only one direct command: "It's very important that Dr. Lester get more films, and I want to see them." (S 447). They both give direct commands equally when they think the issue is an important factor for the case and important for all who are part of the investigation. The style Berger uses is an even mixture of the co-operative and the competitive styles.

The fourth dialogue takes place between Berger and the female Detective Bonell who works with the same crime case as Berger but whom Berger does not know personally. They are equals because of their similar occupational status. Berger does not use any questions or any interruptions and overlaps. She only gives one direct and two indirect commands in which she includes herself with pronoun *we*: "We're going to find out" (SF 452) and with the form *let's* "Let's go." (SF 453). The former example is an order because Berger does not ask if Detective Bonell wants to come with her to an interrogation. She, however, softens the FTA by giving an indirect order. Berger's quietness is partly explained by personal information that she has got from Detective Bonell earlier about her colleague and lover Lucy Farinelli. In this situation, Berger uses the co-operative style more frequently.

The fifth dialogue takes place between Berger and four other interlocutors. The only one she knows personally is Benton Wesley and the others are agents from the FBI. They have equal power positions because of their occupational status and all of them have information about the open crime case which now concerns all of them: they are after the same killer. Berger asks only one speaker-oriented and six addressee-oriented questions of the total of 59 questions asked in the dialogue. In addition, 20 speaker-oriented and 11 addressee-oriented questions are asked from her. In commands, Berger

gives two direct orders, for example, “You need to put Lucy Farinelli’s name up there” (TSF 434) and six indirect orders, for example, “We should add Happ Judd” (TSF 427) of the total of 21 orders in the dialogue. She decides the topic only once by steering the conversation by the form *let’s*: “Let’s get back to the bomb.” (TSF 407). She interrupts only once, but she is interrupted twice. There are no topic changes caused by the interruptions, and each time the person interrupted gets to continue the turn. The point here is that when comparing Berger’s style in this situation with the style she used in the unequal group situation<sup>12</sup> the difference is notable. With equals, almost all the questions (20 speaker-oriented questions out of total 29 and 11 addressee-oriented questions out of total 37) are asked from her, whereas in the unequal power situation, it was her who asked almost all the questions (17 speaker-oriented questions out of total 37 and 10 addressee-oriented questions out of total 21). Furthermore, with equals, she steers the conversation only once by the form *let’s*, whereas in the unequal power situation, she directs the conversation five times by *let’s* and four times by using other indirect commands. This supports the hypothesis that the power relation does affect the speech style. One mitigating circumstance, however, should be noted. The reader of the novel is told that “Berger wasn’t herself [...] She’d stopped offering insights and arguments and had quit pushing back whenever Lanier opened her mouth.” (SF 427). This remark about her not being quite herself might affect her speech style. Whatever the case may be, in this dialogue, Berger uses the co-operative style more with interlocutors of equal power statuses.

The last three dialogues take place between Berger and Lucy Farinelli. In these situations, they are not yet in a relationship but they are drawn to each other. In the sixth dialogue, the topic is about work and they are equals because of their similar occupational status, thus age does not have an effect on their style. They are watching a video of a murder which the killer himself has recorded. Berger does not ask any speaker-oriented questions but eight addressee-oriented ones of the total of 13 questions. Berger and Farinelli speculate and change opinions. For example, Berger is thinking aloud why the victim’s boyfriend would let someone to put a tracking device

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<sup>12</sup> Compare example 22 (unequal power situation) in appendix 3 with example 29 (equal power situation) in appendix 4.

under his skin: “What I still can’t figure out is why would Oscar let anybody do that?” (S 444). In another example, she requests Lucy’s opinion about the killer’s alias: “Big question. Who did Terri [the victim] think Morales was? Juan Amate or Mike Morales?” (S 447). They are brainstorming with the goal to understand the evidence and to catch the killer. Berger gives all the commands: two indirect and none direct ones. She includes herself in them by the form *let’s*: “Let’s start it [the video] again.” (S 441), and the pronoun *we*: “We have to.” (S 443). The situation needs co-operation and Berger uses only the co-operative style.

In the seventh dialogue, Berger is going through some case evidence with Farinelli. They are equals because of their occupational status. In addition, they both have information of their own which they share equally: Farinelli shares what she has found out when going through the murder victim’s laptops and Berger tells about the crime scene and the case itself. Berger asks 14 speaker-oriented and 33 addressee-oriented questions of the total of 78 questions. Farinelli supports their equality by asking nine speaker-oriented and 22 addressee-oriented questions. Berger asks some information regarding Farinelli’s expertise with computers, such as “What fonts does she [the murder victim] use, and for what and why?” (S 275). The majority of the dialogue is, however, about asking other’s opinions and speculation. For example, when Berger and Farinelli are going through the old e-mails between the victim and her boyfriend, Berger tries to understand their relationship by thinking aloud: “This is weird. After three months of dating each other, sleeping with each other, she’s never set foot inside his apartment? And now suddenly she wants to go in there? Why? And why won’t he let her?” (S 302). Berger also gives five direct commands, for example, “Tell me what you [Farinelli] want to do.” (S 258) and 12 indirect commands, for example, “Before I forget, if you’d [Farinelli] forward that e-mail to me so I have a copy.” (S 305). She also chooses the conversation topic three times by steering the conversation. She uses indirect commands twice, for example, “Let’s go back to that [...] Let’s start with mid-December and work out way up to the most recent ones [e-mails].” (S 296). She also combines a direct order and an indirect one: “Jump back earlier to last fall, last summer or spring [...] And let’s see if the pattern’s similar.” (S 303). In this dialogue, Farinelli gives most of the direct orders (11 direct, six indirect). The larger number can be



explained by her giving several orders about what to do to ease the symptoms of cybersickness of which Berger is suffering. Farinelli gives orders, such as “Anyway, don’t look at the monitor.” (S 242) and “Keep your eyes shut.” (S 243). She is concerned of the well-being of Berger. Her aim is not to subdue Berger but to ease her headache. Otherwise, both use the styles fairly equally and the co-operative speech style more frequently.

In the last dialogue, the power relation changes from equal to unequal. At the beginning of the conversation, Berger and Farinelli have power because of their occupational status. Farinelli is a private forensic computer expert and the best in the business. She also has a police training; she has worked for the FBI and the ATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives). Berger is dependent on Farinelli’s help even though she implies that: “There are other forensic computer experts. Just so we’re clear.” (S 151) to which, Farinelli replies: “There’s no one else who can do what I can. Just so we’re clear.” (S 151). The example emphasizes their equality in this situation. Berger is asking one of both question types. In the first question, she does not expect an answer but pleads to Lucy’s compassion: “You have any idea how many of these things [power point presentations] I see?” (S 148). In the second question, she asks information: “I’ll receipt these to you [...] How did you get here?” (S 150). In commands, she uses more of the co-operative style. She gives two direct commands and four indirect ones. She uses different softeners, such as an apology: “Excuse me [...] I’m accustomed to people sitting on the other side of my desk.” (S 146), a combination of the form *let’s* and a request: “Let’s refrain from using that word, please.” (S 148), and the pronoun *we* twice: “We need to get started on the laptops.” (S 149). Berger first uses only indirect commands that request Farinelli to start working with the laptops. When Farinelli does not make it her business, Berger gives a direct order: “What I want from you is straightforward [...] To go through the e-mail, all files of any description, re-create all deletions, recognize any patterns that might tell us the slightest thing about who, what, when, where.” (S 149). She is very specific what she wants Farinelli to do. After this, she brings out a topic that changes the power relation. All in all, as long as the power relation stayed the same, she used the co-operative style more frequently.

After the power relation changes Berger prefers the competitive style.<sup>13</sup> The change happens because Berger wants to talk about a more personal topic. She has the power because Farinelli might ruin the investigation if she cannot control her personal feelings, and thus jeopardize the case. Berger gives three direct and one indirect command. She starts with softening an order: “Marino works for me. I’m taking for granted you can and will handle that.” after which, she is more firm: “I need your assurance.” (S 150) and “You have to handle it.” (S 151). Farinelli interrupts Berger once when they are talking about Pete Marino with whom Farinelli has unsolved personal issues. The interruption signals her offence, which, however, does not affect Berger’s speech:

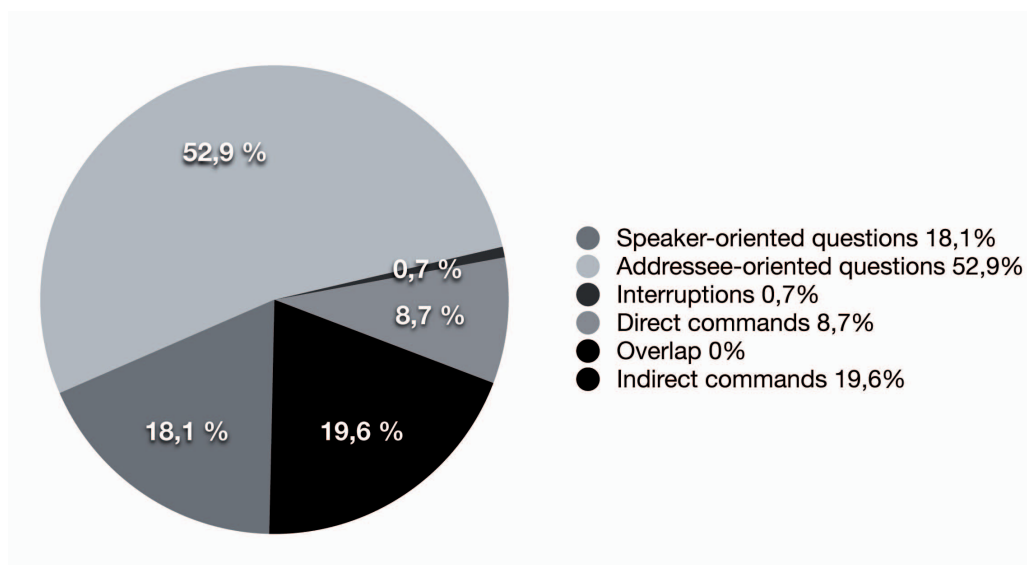
“If you want to work for me, you’ll have to handle it. He takes priority over you because—” [Jaime Berger]  
 “Glad to know your definition of justice. Since I’m not the one who feloniously assaulted someone and then took a job under false pretenses.” [Lucy Farinelli]  
 “That’s not legally or literally true, and I don’t want to argue about it. [Jaime Berger] (S 151).

Berger performs her professional role, and she makes it clear that Farinelli has to do the same if she wants to work for her. Even though Berger is interrupted, she sets the boundaries: personal feelings have to be suppressed when working. If Farinelli cannot do that, she is out of the investigation. This dialogue illustrates that power does have an effect on the speech styles used, especially, if one wants to emphasize the difference in power.

The divisions of the different speech features Berger used in the eight dialogues are illustrated in Figure 5:

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<sup>13</sup> Compare example 32 (equal power relation) with example 32.1 (unequal power relation) in appendix 4.



**Figure 5.** Speech Features of Jaime Berger in Equal Power Situations

Based on these findings, the difference between the competitive and the co-operative speech styles was notable. Jaime Berger used mostly the co-operative speech style with those equal in power. The division of the speech features and their numbers were as follows: addressee-oriented questions 73 (= 52,9%) / speaker-oriented questions 25 (= 18,1%), overlaps 0 (= 0%) / interruptions 1 (= 0,7%), and indirect commands 27 (= 19,6%) / direct commands 12 (= 8,7%).<sup>14</sup> The only deviation was that there are no overlaps. Overlaps can be recognized in written text by two marks: if the other interlocutor finishes the speaker's sentence so that the meaning stays the same, and it is clear that there is no violation intended. For an ordinary reader, however, it might be difficult to identify between interruption and overlap if one does not know their specific definitions. This might be one reason for the lack of overlaps in the material. The majority of speech features Berger used were questions: 52,9% were addressee-oriented questions, which is in line with the claim that in the co-operative style, the speakers tend to use more questions when encouraging others to participate in a conversation and to express their views (Coates 1996: 176; 2004: 94; Holmes 1995: 40). Secondly, 19,6% of Berger's speech were indirect orders, which is also in line with the claim that in the

<sup>14</sup> The divisions of the speech features from each dialogue are presented separately in appendix 4 (examples 25–32).

co-operative style, all the participants are equals in decision-making and indirect orders are seen as propositions where the person giving the command includes him/herself together with the addressee in the proposed action (Coates 2004: 94–96). The familiarity and the gender of the speakers did not have any impact on the speech style of Berger. She interacted with everyone in a similar manner, if not using a pure co-operative style then mixing the co-operative and the competitive styles equally. The most notable factor from the dialogues of Berger was that she usually first used an indirect order with her equals, but if that did not get the desired outcome, she used a direct command. Furthermore, with equals, all the interlocutors mainly used the co-operative style, which also supports the hypothesis that the more equal the power relations, the more one has to consider the face needs of others.

## 5 CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis was to study the representations of the speech styles of two powerful women, Kay Scarpetta and Jaime Berger, in *Scarpetta* (2008) and *the Scarpetta Factor* (2009) by Patricia Cornwell. Both women work in male dominated fields in high status positions. The interest was to see if the women characters change their speech style, depending on the power relations of the interlocutors: when the difference in power decreases, the need for positive and negative politeness increases and vice versa. The dialogues of the characters were good material for this study, because crime fiction is traditionally set in hierarchical work environments. Since crime fiction also aims at authenticity of detail, the dialogues had a great part in the formation of the image of authenticity. Furthermore, sociolinguistic studies have identified differences in speech styles where power is (un)equally divided. In this study, the speech styles were categorized into the competitive and the co-operative styles based on the division established by Jennifer Coates (2004). These facts formed the hypothesis of this present study: crime fiction aims at authenticity in the dialogues, in particular in the choice between the competitive and the co-operative speech styles.

The different speech styles are part of the communicative competence of how to use language appropriately. Differences may have their roots in, for example, the gender norms that a society sets for its members. Each gender is expected to learn the appropriate way to use language. The speech features for both genders are the same but their use of these features differs. According to the findings of Coates (2004: 126), the competitive style is an interaction based on power, while the co-operative style is based on solidarity and support. The speakers who have learned the competitive speech style tend to use more speaker-oriented questions, more direct commands and, also, to interrupt others. The speakers who have learned the co-operative speech style tend to use more addressee-oriented questions, more indirect commands and rather than interrupt, they tend to overlap with the speech of the others. However, since everyone can change their speech styles, both genders can use either style. They are performing gender through language. When they are doing this, they may contradict the gender norms that are expected of them. In addition to the findings of Coates, the studies of

West & Zimmerman (1975) and O'barr & Atkins (1980) were the basis for the claim that in high status positions, the competitive style is more effective, whereas in situations where equality and co-operation are important, the co-operative style is preferred. This claim was further supported by the views of Norman Fairclough (1989), and Janet Holmes and Maria Stubbe (2003) about how power is expressed through language and about the appropriateness in different hierarchical situations. According to the findings of Holmes & Stubbe (2003), when the inequality between the speakers decreases, the need for negative and positive politeness increases. One has to consider the face needs of others and avoid face-threatening acts.

The theoretical framework for this present study was based on the findings of authentic situations, whereas the findings of this study were based on representations of authentic gendered speech. Crime fiction tends to aim at a feel of authenticity in detail, and the dialogues from the novels formed a great part of this authenticity with the authentic places and character details. Because of the detailed dialogues, the gender performances of the characters could also be determined. Since the competitive style is more commonly learned by men, the women characters from the novels performed a subversive femininity when they were using the competitive speech style.

The first part of the hypothesis in this study was that Kay Scarpetta and Jaime Berger would use mostly the competitive speech style in situations where they had the power and when the power relations were unequal. They mainly got the power because of their occupational status and social prestige but also, in some situations, because of their age, special knowledge and the topic of the conversation. The results from the eight dialogues of both women confirmed the hypothesis of the dominance of competitive speech in unequal situations. Kay Scarpetta used 225 speaker-oriented questions of the total of 274 questions uttered by her, 40 direct commands of the total of 64 commands, two interruptions and none overlaps. Jaime Berger used 91 speaker-oriented questions of the total of 128 questions uttered by her, 33 direct commands of the total of 61 commands and five interruptions with one overlap when she finished the other speaker's turn.

Both women used speaker-oriented questions to get direct and exact information. Both of them also used questions to steer the conversation to the topics they chose or to ignore questions asked from them. In these situations, their gender performance consisted of the ignoring of the invitations to consensus and appearing unemotional or expressionless in contrast to what is usually expected of women. Berger also used co-operative questions to steer the conversation towards the way she wanted and when prompting the addressee to speak. Both women used more direct commands in the majority of dialogues. Only in intimate and sensitive situations did Scarpetta use more indirect commands. Furthermore, Berger controlled the topics and steered conversations by using the co-operative form *let's* in several dialogues. Lastly, both women used interruptions and violated others' right to speak. There, however, was only one topic change made by Berger when she diverted the topic away from herself.

The results supported that the competitive style is more effective in maintaining power and when speaking with subordinates. The context, however, has an effect on the style. In more intimate and sensitive situations, the need for negative and positive politeness is greater even if the power relation is unequal. Even though the competitive style seems to be more effective in high status situation, in contrast to the study results of O'barr & Atkins (1980), the co-operative style can also be seen as powerful in high status positions. This was seen in the co-operative style of questions and commands that Jaime Berger used when steering the conversations.

The second part of the hypothesis in this study was that Kay Scarpetta and Jaime Berger would use mostly the co-operative speech style in situations where they have an equal power relation with the other interlocutors. Their power equality came mostly from occupational status and special knowledge. The results from the dialogues of both women were almost consistent with each other with the exception that Scarpetta used 53 addressee-oriented questions of the total of 109 questions. The slightly larger number of speaker-oriented questions can be explained by the fact that in a few dialogues, she needed to get the background information from others so that she could share her own information with them. In this sense, the power relation changed according to who had the special knowledge, but since everyone were in this same position at some point

during the conversation, the overall relations were equal. Furthermore, in the speaker-oriented questions with the unequals, the information was not shared, whereas in the equal relations, the information from the speaker-oriented questions was always shared. Scarpetta used 22 indirect commands of the total of 28 commands and one interruption without any overlaps. Jaime Berger used 25 speaker-oriented questions of the total of 98 questions uttered by her, 27 indirect commands of the total of 39 commands and one interruption without any overlaps. The findings of Berger support the hypothesis concerning the use of the co-operative speech style in equal situations. The findings of Scarpetta are not as distinct, but based on the numbers of significant command types, the almost even number of the question types and the contexts of the conversations in unequal and equal power situations, there is a clear difference. As a conclusion, it can be said that Scarpetta used more polite forms when talking to equals but more precisely, she also mixed the different styles in equal power situations.

The results supported that the co-operative style can be seen as more effective in maintaining equality, when the speaker's share the common interest and rely on co-operation. The equality was further supported by the fact that the divisions of the speech features by each interlocutor were somewhat even, meaning in situations of equal power status, Scarpetta/Berger and the other interlocutor/s used the speech features evenly in both styles. A noticeable feature in equal power situations was that indirect commands were most frequently given. Only if the indirect command did not have the desirable effect, direct ones were given. This supports the effectiveness of direct commands in the competitive style.

The different power relations had an effect on the speech styles of the powerful women characters. They performed both hegemonic and subversive femininities. The gender and the familiarity of the speakers did not seem to have any effect on the styles of the women characters. They used the same styles in different dialogues even though the gender of the addressee changed. This was the case also with (un)familiarity. Most importantly, the power relation had to remain stable. The results of the characters might be more even if the situations and topics were similar. For example, a number of dialogues of both of the characters would concern only matters of work.



The speech styles of the characters are just representations of authentic speech, therefore, there were a few overlaps and only one of them was uttered by Jaime Berger. In an authentic situation, more overlaps could be expected. Crime fiction aims at staged authenticity in details, and the dialogues of the novels were a great part of this authenticity. However, it is not always easy to transfer all the speech features of oral language into fictional, written form. Of course, authentic dialogues can be transferred into transcriptions in research, but when the text is for purpose of entertainment, it has to be easy to read and follow the rules of novel writing. Furthermore, for an ordinary reader, it might be difficult to identify between interruption and overlap if one does not know their specific definitions. These might be the reasons for the lack of overlaps in the material.

This subject could be further expanded by concentrating on only one powerful woman character, preferably Kay Scarpetta, since she is the protagonist of the series and included in most of the dialogues. The material could consist of an earlier novel of the series when she was one of the first woman chief medical examiners and of a later novel of the series. The study could focus on the changes in her speech style from the earlier days when the field was almost entirely occupied by men to the later days when women had increased in number in the field of criminal investigation. Other speech features could also be added to the study. For example, hedges or tags might offer new insights into the gender performance of powerful female characters.

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## Appendix 1. Kay Scarpetta in Unequal Power Situations

## Example 1.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	11	1
Addressee-oriented questions	1	0
total	12	1
total all		13

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	1	0
Overlap	0	0
total	1	0
total all		1

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	1	0
Indirect commands	0	0
total	1	0
total all		1

## Example 2.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	13	2
Addressee-oriented questions	0	0
total	13	2
total all		15

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	1	0
Overlap	0	0
total	1	0
total all		1

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	2	1
Indirect commands	0	0
total	2	1
total all		3

## Example 3.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	20	11
Addressee-oriented questions	5	3
total	25	14
total all		39

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	0	2
Indirect commands	5	0
total	5	2
total all		7

## Example 4.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	107	10
Addressee-oriented questions	16	29
total	123	39
total all		162

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	2
Overlap	0	0
total	0	2
total all		2

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	9	19
Indirect commands	3	7
total	12	26
total all		38

## Example 5.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	6	2
Addressee-oriented questions	0	3
total	6	5
total all		11

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	10	0
Indirect commands	0	0
total	10	0
total all		10

## Example 6.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	6	0
Addressee-oriented questions	0	4
total	6	4
total all		10

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	2	0
Indirect commands	2	0
total	4	0
total all		4

## Example 7.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	6	1
Addressee-oriented questions	1	4
total	7	5
total all		12

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	2	2
Indirect commands	0	2
total	2	4
total all		6

Example 8.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	12	0
Addressee-oriented questions	1	2
total	13	2
total all		15

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	1
Overlap	0	0
total	0	1
total all		1

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	0	1
Indirect commands	1	0
total	1	1
total all		2

Example 8.1.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	0	0
Addressee-oriented questions	2	0
total	2	0
total all		2

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	0	0
Indirect commands	5	0
total	5	0
total all		5

## Appendix 2. Kay Scarpetta in Equal Power Situations

Example 9.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	5	2
Addressee-oriented questions	2	7
total	7	9
total all		16

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	0	0
Indirect commands	2	1
total	2	1
total all		3

Example 10.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	1	2
Addressee-oriented questions	3	6
total	4	8
total all		12

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	1	0
Overlap	0	0
total	1	0
total all		1

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	1	0
Indirect commands	3	0
total	4	0
total all		4

Example 11.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	2	2
Addressee-oriented questions	2	1
total	4	3
total all		7

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	2	1
Indirect commands	3	0
total	5	1
total all		6

Example 12.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	2	5
Addressee-oriented questions	6	15
total	8	20
total all		28

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	1	2
Indirect commands	0	0
total	1	2
total all		3



Example 13.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	7	1
Addressee-oriented questions	1	3
total	8	4
total all		12

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	1	0
Indirect commands	3	0
total	4	0
total all		4

Example 14.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	2	1
Addressee-oriented questions	3	5
total	5	6
total all		11

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	1	3
Indirect commands	1	3
total	2	6
total all		8

Example 15.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	23	3
Addressee-oriented questions	13	10
total	36	13
total all		49

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	1
Overlap	0	0
total	0	1
total all		1

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	0	3
Indirect commands	4	1
total	4	4
total all		8

Example 15.1.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	17	10
Addressee-oriented questions	11	8
total	28	18
total all		46

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	1	3
Indirect commands	0	4
total	1	7
total all		8

Example 16.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	14	3
Addressee-oriented questions	21	12
total	35	15
total all		50

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	0	1
Indirect commands	1	1
total	1	2
total all		3

Example 16.1.

	Scarpetta	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	27	3
Addressee-oriented questions	14	1
total	41	4
total all		45

	Scarpetta	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Scarpetta	Other
Direct commands	5	0
Indirect commands	3	0
total	8	0
total all		8

## Appendix 3. Jaime Berger in Unequal Power Situations

Example 17.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	4	0
Addressee-oriented questions	0	5
total	4	5
total all		9

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	1	0
Indirect commands	0	0
total	1	0
total all		1

Example 18.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	47	19
Addressee-oriented questions	12	12
total	59	31
total all		90

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	1
Overlap	0	0
total	0	1
total all		1

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	8	6
Indirect commands	4	1
total	12	7
total all		19

Example 19.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	2	6
Addressee-oriented questions	0	2
total	2	8
total all		10

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	4	1
Indirect commands	2	5
total	6	6
total all		12

Example 20.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	5	1
Addressee-oriented questions	2	5
total	7	6
total all		13

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	2	0
Indirect commands	1	1
total	3	1
total all		4

Example 21.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	5	4
Addressee-oriented questions	0	3
total	5	7
total all		12

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	2	0
Indirect commands	2	0
total	4	0
total all		4

Example 22.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	17	20
Addressee-oriented questions	10	11
total	27	31
total all		58

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	1	3
Indirect commands	16	2
total	17	5
total all		22

Example 23.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	0	1
Addressee-oriented questions	0	2
total	0	3
total all		3

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	4	2
Indirect commands	0	0
total	4	2
total all		6

Example 24.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	11	3
Addressee-oriented questions	13	2
total	24	5
total all		29

	Berger	Other
Interruption	5	0
Overlap	1	0
total	6	0
total all		6

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	8	3
Indirect commands	2	0
total	10	3
total all		13

Example 24.1.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	6	14
Addressee-oriented questions	18	7
total	24	21
total all		45

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	0	2
Indirect commands	0	0
total	0	2
total all		2

## Appendix 4. Jaime Berger in Equal Power Situations

Example 25.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	0	0
Addressee-oriented questions	2	0
total	2	0
total all		2

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	0	0
Indirect commands	1	1
total	1	1
total all		2

Example 26.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	2	2
Addressee-oriented questions	4	0
total	6	2
total all		8

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	1	0
Indirect commands	0	3
total	1	3
total all		4

Example 27.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	1	0
Addressee-oriented questions	1	1
total	2	1
total all		3

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	1	1
Indirect commands	1	0
total	2	1
total all		3

Example 28.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	0	0
Addressee-oriented questions	0	2
total	0	2
total all		2

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	1	1
Indirect commands	2	0
total	3	1
total all		4

Example 29.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	1	28
Addressee-oriented questions	6	31
total	7	59
total all		66

	Berger	Other
Interruption	1	2
Overlap	0	0
total	1	2
total all		3

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	2	3
Indirect commands	6	10
total	8	13
total all		21

Example 30.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	0	1
Addressee-oriented questions	8	4
total	8	5
total all		13

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	0	0
Indirect commands	2	0
total	2	0
total all		2

Example 31.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	14	9
Addressee-oriented questions	33	22
total	47	31
total all		78

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	1
Overlap	0	0
total	0	1
total all		1

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	5	11
Indirect commands	12	6
total	17	17
total all		34

Example 32.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	1	4
Addressee-oriented questions	1	3
total	2	7
total all		9

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	0
Overlap	0	0
total	0	0
total all		0

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	2	2
Indirect commands	4	1
total	6	3
total all		9

Example 32.1.

	Berger	Other
Speaker-oriented questions	0	6
Addressee-oriented questions	0	2
total	0	8
total all		8

	Berger	Other
Interruption	0	1
Overlap	0	0
total	0	1
total all		1

	Berger	Other
Direct commands	3	0
Indirect commands	1	0
total	4	0
total all		4